

A
GENEALOGICAL HISTORY
OF THE
NOBLE AND ILLUSTRIOUS
FAMILY
OF COURTENAY.

In THREE PARTS.

THE FIRST GIVES AN ACCOUNT,
OF THE COUNTS OF EDESSA,
OF THAT FAMILY,
THE SECOND,
OF THAT BRANCH THAT IS IN FRANCE.
THE THIRD,
OF THAT BRANCH THAT IS IN ENGLAND.

PAULUM SEPULT & DISTAT INERIA
CELATA VIRTUS. HOR.

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Devon.

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To the Honourable
SIR WILLIAM COURTENAY, BT.

SIR,

When I had the honour to assist You in your studies in Oxford, curiosity put me upon enquiring into the antiquity and greatness of your family: I had heard before (as all that have heard anything of the family must) that it is truly great and nobler and I had seen some short account of it in Camden, Dugdale, and other modern authors; but when I made a particular search into the histories of our nation, and other histories, I found a great deal which did tend to show forth the greatness and lustre of it; and having made a collection of all that I found relating to the family, I have put it in the best method I could, and do here present it to you.

I had for my patron, by your recommendation, that generous and noble-spirited gentlemen your grandfather, and I have since received many favours from you; and I was glad of an opportunity of showing my gratitude, and of doing what service I could for the family: and I hope by laying before your children

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the lives of their noble ancestors, and showing of them the pictures of their minds, they will be as well pleased, as to see the pictures of their bodies placed up in their houses; and that by reading an account of their noble actions, they and their posterity will be induced to practice those virtues for which their ancestors were famous, by which they got great renown, and raised themselves high in the world.

And seeing your children by your noble and virtuous Lady (whose death was an unspeakable loss to the family, and of whom to give a just character it would require the pen of that famous poet, that made an elegy upon that excellent Lady her mother) have the blood of the Berties and Norris's mixed with that of the Courtenays, we have great reason to hope that they will show themselves nobly descended by their noble and generous actions.

Of the first of these families, viz, the Berties, was Leopold de Bertie, who was constable of Dover Castle in the time of King Etheldred, and from whom was descended Richard Bertie, who in Queen Mary's reign was forced with his Lady, the Dutchess of Suffolk, to fly from his native country for the sake of his religion; and when he was in exile; having a son born, he named him Peregrine, which name does continue in the family to this day, to put those that are of it in mind what their ancestors did and suffered for the Protestant religion; which Peregrine was Lord Willoughby of Eresby, by descent from his mother

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Catherine Willoughby, heiress of that family and Dutchess of Suffolk, widow of Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolk. This Lord Willoughby was, as Mr. Camden says, made Governour of Berwick by Queen Elizabeth, and in France and Low Countries went through all the offices of a Commander with great commendation; and there goes this story of him, that having a challenge sent him when he was ill of the gout, he returned this answer, "That he was lame in his hands and feet, yet he would meet his challenger with a piece of rapier in his mouth." Robert his son succeeded him and by the Lady Vere his mother, sister and heiress to Edward Earl of Oxford, became hereditary Lord Great Chamberlain of England, and was created Earl of Lindsey by Charles 1, and was general of his army in the fight at Edgehill, and being there mortally wounded, and taken prisoner by the rebels, did with his last breath exhort them to return to their duty and allegiance. And as in this Robert the family received an additional honour in his becoming Lord Great Chamberlain of England, and in his being made an Earl, so it has received a greater lustre in being honoured with the title of Duke, which title was conferred by King George 1. upon Robert late Duke of Ancaster and Kestevan.

Of the other family, viz. that of Norris, there were six brethren, sons of James Lord Norris of Ricot, who by their ' warlike actions in Ireland, France, and the Low Countries, rendered themselves famous, and raised themselves

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to great honours and preferments in the reign of Queen Elizabeth: and from the heiress of this family, married to Montague Earl of Lindsey, son of the first Robert, came James Bertie, who was Lord Norris of Ricot, as descended from his mother, and was made Earl of Abingdon by King Charles II. the father of your Right Honourable Lady.

And seeing, as I said, your children have such noble ancestors, we may very well hope, that they and their posterity will imitate them in their courage, generosity, love for their Country, zeal for their religion, and all other good and noble qualities; and as the family has continued in splendour, and flourished +or many generations back, so that it may still prosper, and continue to all succeeding generations, is the prayer of,

Honoured Sir,

Your most obedient,

And most obliged Humble Servant,

EZRA CLEAVELAND.

TO THE READER,

Thought it convenient to say something concerning the authors from which the following History is taken: The first part of it is taken from the writers of the history of the wars of the Christians in the Holy Land, especially from William Arch-Bishop of Tyre, who wrote the best and largest of any of them, He lived in the time when the western Christians did possess the Holy Land, and was upon the place, and was intimately acquainted with the affairs of the kingdom, for he had a share in the government of it; and when the power of the Christians did decline in these parts, he went into France to solicit the French king to send them aid: And Henry II, King of England; and Philip the French King, with a great many nobles of both kingdoms, did, by his persuasion, and in his presence, agree to go all to the Holy Land, to fight against Sultan Saladine, who was then too hard for the Christians; but by reason of the difference that in a little time after happened between the two Kings, this design did not take effect. And from this Arch-Bishop of Tyre it is that I have taken the greatest part of the account that I have given of the Counts of Edessa: And in speaking of them, I have also given a short history of the war in the Holy Land, particularly of that part of it in which the Counts of Edessa were more immediately concerned, that it might not be a bare catalogue of names only, but that it might divert and entertain the reader. Doctor Fuller has written in English an History of the Holy War, and Monsieur Maimbourg one in French, which was translated into English by Doctor Nalson; But in this there are several things material, especially relating to the family of COURTENAY, which are not in either of them,

The second part of this book is a compendium of Monsieur Bouchet's Genealogical History of the Family of Courtenay, which was dedicated to the french King Lewis XIV and was writ on purpose to prove that the family of Courtenay in France is of the royal blood, and is descended from Lewis VI. King of France, surnamed le Grosse,

T o the R E A D E R

In the beginning of it, seeing several of the family were Emperours of Constantinople, there is a short account given of that Empire, whilst it was in the hands of the western Christians, which I have translated to make the book more pleasant and diverting but the latter end of Bouchet's history is mostly genealogical, and little else then the names of those of the family, which yet I have transcribed that this second part may be complete.

And as for the third part of our book, that which gives an account of the family of Courtenay in England, I have taken it from the general histories of our nation, and from some particular histories of the County of Devon, in manuscript, in which county the family did chiefly reside. Sir Peter Ball, who was an eminent lawyer in the reign of King Charles I. and King Charles II. of whom the Earl of Clarendon in his history does make mention, and who for his service to the royal cause in the Civil Wars was made Attorney to the Queen-Mother in King Charles the Second's reign, has writ a book of the family of Courtenay here in England, which book in manuscript is in the hands of the present Sir William Courtenay: and he took a great deal of pains in searching into all the records in all the offices in London where they are kept, to see what he could find relating to that family: From him I had great assistance, and have taken the copies of the records that are in the appendix. Mr. Rowe, another learned lawyer, who flourished in the time King Charles II., and was the father of Mr. Rowe the late Poet-Laureat, transcribed Sir Peter Ball's book, and put down in the margin of his own all that did occur to him in his reading relating to the family. Sir William Pole, who lived in the time of King James I. and King Charles I. and who was with King Charles I. in his Parliament at Oxford, has writ a book which he calls "A Description of Devonshire", in which there are many things concerning the family of Courtenay.- So likewise Mr. Risdén, in his Survey of Devon, Mr. Westcote, Mr. Hooker, Mr. Prince, and all that have written of the County of Devon, do often make mention of this family, and do relate many things concerning it; for the Courtenays having been Governours of this county for above five hundred years, as viscounts and earls of Devonshire, (which were not empty titles then, but great estates and great power and authority did go along with them) the chief affairs of the county did go through their hands; and therefore it is, that those who have wrote particularly of the County of Devon have said so much of this family; so that an History of the Family of COURTENAY, may, in effect, be said to be an History of the County of Devon,

THE GENEALOGICAL
HISTORY
OF THE
NOBLE FAMILY
OF
COURTENAY.

PART I

Treats the Counts of Edessa of that family.

BOOK I

CHAPTER I.

The noble and illustrious family of the Courtenays took its name from the town Courtenay in Gastinois, which is part of the Isle of France; which town stands on a hill on the banks of the River Clairry, between Sens an the East, and Montargis on the West, about fifty-six miles from Paris to the South. The continuator of Aimon's History of France, an ancient historian that lived in the year 1200, says, that Athon, a son of a Chastlelain or Governor of Castle-Reynard, in the reign of King Robert, about the year 1000, fortified Courtenay; and to him by his wife, who was of a noble family, was born a son named Josceline de Courtenay, the first of that name, from whom have descended three

noble branches The first, that seated itself in the East, and flourished there for some time under the name of Count of Edessa: the second, is that which continues to this day in France, which is descended from Peter the youngest son of Lewis de Grosse King of France; and which claims to have its rank amongst the Princes of the Blood next to the House of Bourbon; and which supplied Constantinople with three Emperors successively the third, is that which from the time of Henry II. to Queen Mary's days was in great grandeur here in England, under the titles of barons, Earls and Marquesses; was several times married into the royal family; and does still flourish in the family of Powderham, and other branches.

Josceline de Courtenay, first of that name, had two wives: by the first, named Hildegarde, daughter of Gaufride de Ferrole, Count de Gastinois, he had one daughter named Hodierne, married to Geoffrey, second of that name; Count de Joigny, by whom he had two sons, Guy and Reynard Count de Joigny. His second wife was Isabel daughter of Milo de Montleherry, by whom he had three sons, Milo de Courtenay, Josceline de Courtenay, (the first of that family that was seated in the Holy Land, of whom we shall speak more largely hereafter,) and Jeoffry de Courtenay. Milo de Courtenay married a sister of the Count of Nevers, by whom he had three sons, William, Josceline, and Reymond or Reginald, and was buried in the Abbey of Fontain-jean, founded by himself. Reginald had two daughters, the eldest Isabel or Elizabeth, Lady of Courtenay and Montargis, whom Peter de France, the son of King Lewis le Grosse, married, upon which marriage he took the name and arms of Courtenay. The second daughter was wife of Avalon de Suilly.

The first branch of the House of Courtenay that we shall speak of, is that which seated itself in the Holy Land, and was begun in Josceline de Courtenay, first Count of Edessa and to understand the history of this great man and his family, it is necessary that we say something of the occasion and beginning of the Holy War, in which he had a great share, and in which he very much signalized himself.

In the eighteenth year of Aelius Adrianus, about sixty years after the city of Jerusalem had been taken by Titus Vespasian, the Jews rose up in open rebellion under a leader call Barchochebas, which word signifies a star and he said he was come down from heaven to shine upon the faces of the Jews, to comfort them in their distress, and to free them from the oppressions they laboured under. The emperor enraged at this sent a great army against them, defeated them, and destroyed great numbers of them, and razed the city Jerusalem to the ground, and banished all the Jews, from that place and the country round about, and commanded that no Jew should look towards the place where the city stood, no not so much as through the chink of a door: and the Emperor built a new city, not altogether in the same place where Jerusalem stood, and called it after his own name, Aelia; and upon one of the gates he caused a swine to be engraven, because that creature was an abomination to the Jews, and forbidden to be eaten by their law; and out of hatred to the Christians he built a temple over our Saviour's Sepulchre with the images of Jupiter and Venus in it; and another at Bethlehem, dedicated to Adonis, Adrian's profanation of Jerusalem listed one hundred and eighty years, during which time the Christians were often under persecution, and had scarce any quiet 'till Constantine's time; when Helena his mother being about eighty years old travelled to Jerusalem, and there

the purged Mount Calvary and Bethlehem of idolatry, and built in the place where she was born and buried, and in several other places of Palestine, stately and sumptuous churches; and to her is ascribed the finding out the Holy Cross, But in the year 610, the time of Heraclius the Emperor, Chosroes the Persian, knowing the ill condition the Empire was in, by the carelessness and sloth of Phocas the former Emperor, invaded it with a great army, conquered Syria and Jerusalem, and carried away the Holy Cross in triumph; but the Christian Emperor entering Persia with a great army overcame Chosroes, who was afterwards slain by Siroes his own son; and Heraclius returning took Jerusalem in his way\$ and restored the Cross, which was reckoned a precious jewel, to the Temple of the Holy Sepulchre, But altho' Chosroes had no long-settled government in Palestine, yet the Saracens, a little while after in the year 636, under Hamar Prince of Arabia, took Jerusalem, conquered Syria, and propagated the doctrine of Mahomet in all that country,

The Saracens were the inhabitants of Arabia, and were so called, as some says from Saraca, which is part of Arabia; or, as other say, that being descended from Hagar the bond-woman, and looking upon it as a disgrace to be called after her name, they called themselves Saracens, from Sarah the free-woman: but the most probable opinion is, that they were called Saracens from Sarak or Saraka, which signifies to steal, because they were much given to theft and robbery; and by the Jews they were called Arabs or Arabians, which signifies much the same thing.

The condition of the Christians under these Saracens was very uncertain; sometimes they enjoyed the liberty and public exercise of their religion, and sometimes they were under very severe persecution. But their next masters the Turks were worse, who about the year 844 came out of their own country Sythia, and seated themselves in Turcomania, a northern part of Armenia conquered by them, and called after their name; afterwards they went into Persia, where they were called to assist Mahomet the Saracen Sultan against his enemies, where taking notice of their own strength, the Saracens cowardice, and the pleasantness of the country, they did\$ under Tangrolopix their first king, overcome that large dominion, 1030, and at the same time took upon them the Mahometan religion.

Their next step was into Babylon, the capital whereof they overcame; and shortly after, under Cutlumuses their second king, they conquered Mesopotamia, the greatest part of Syria, and the city of Jerusalem in the year 1060.

The Christians then in Palestine suffering much under their new masters, it happened that there came a pilgrim to Jerusalem, called Peter the Hermite, born at Amiens in France; with him Simon the Patriarch of Jerusalem often discoursed concerning the present miseries of the Christians under the Turks, and they consulted together how the Princes of Europe might be induced to assist and relieve them. Peter, moved with PATRIARCH'S persuasions, the equity and honourableness of the cause, took the whole business upon *him*, and travelled to Rome to consult Pope Urban 11, about advancing so pious a design. The Pope was zealous in the cause, and called a Council at Cleremont in France in the year 1095, published the Crusade against the infidels, and summoned there all Christian Princes, who were to be quickly in the field from France\$ England, Germany, Italy, only Spain was excepted, being sufficiently employed at home by the Moors. It was called crusade, because such as were enrolled therein took from the hands of the Bishops a cross of Jerusalem made of cloth or silk, which

was sewed on their garments on the left side of their breasts; The French wore it red, the English white, the Flemmings and those of the Low Countries green, the Germans black, and the Italians yellow,

The first Crusade was published in the year 1096, Hugh Of France, brother to King Philip, Godfrey of Bouillon, son to Eustace Count of Bologne on the sea-side, (Duke of Lorrain and Bouillon by adoption of Godfrey Duke of Lorrain his uncle, deceased without issue,) Eustace of Bologne, (who bore the ancient arms of Bologne, viz. three torteaux's Or, in a field Gules, the same with those of the family of Courtenay,) Baldwin of Bologne, Robert, son to William the Conqueror, Baldwin of Bruges, son to the Count of Retal, and many other nobles. The number of the army is variously reported, some making them six hundred thousand; it is generally believed they were at least three hundred thousand. To accommodate and furnish themselves for so long a voyage, one sold his dukedom, another his county, another his barony, others their lands, meadows, mills, houses, forest, etc, Godfrey of Bouillon sold his dukedom of Bouillon to the Bishop of Liege; Robert engaged his dukedom of Normandy to his brother William King of England, At their departure Pope Urban gave them his blessing, remission of sins, and +or the watch-word, deus vult. They that staid at home were accounted sluggards and cowards, and had distaffs sent them by those that crossed themselves for the voyage. By universal consent of all the princes and lords, Godfrey of Bouillon was chosen General of the whole army for his experience and good conduct. Under this experienced general they marched through Hungary towards Constantinople. Boemund also, a prince of Apulia in Italy, Raimond Count of Tholouse, and Robert of Normandy, marched out much about the same time, but took different ways. They all met at the general rendevous in Constantinople; from thence they marched on to the lesser Asia q besieged and took Nicomedia, and afterwards Nice of Bithinia, which endured a siege of twenty two days; then they surprised Heraclea, Lycaonia; Cilicia; Cappadocia, Syria, Mesopotamia; Comagena, and other famous towns and countries, which took in three years space. From Sultan Solyman, the son of Sultan Cutlumuses, they also took Antioch, Tripoly, with the neighbouring cities and towns; and this made their way plain to Judea, and therein to the city of Jerusalem, which they invested the siege continued thirty eight days, at the end whereof the city was taken, on Friday the fifteenth of July, 1099; And as Godfrey was by common consent of the Christian princes made general of the army, so eight days after the taking of the city he was elected king, and clothed with the royal ornaments, the Crown of Gold excepted\$ which he refused to wear in that place where the saviour of the world was crowned with a crown of thorns. A little while after he was crowned, the Saracens coming out of Egypt, under Ammirevissus their general, and, joining with the Turks, near one hundred thousand being slain, and all their tents were taken, in which were riches of inestimable value. This victory being obtained, those Christians that had a mind to return to their own country departed those that remained had lordships and lands conferred upon them, according to their quality and deserts. But not long after; Godfrey besieging the city of Antipatris, then called Assur, although hitherto he had always been a conqueror, was forced to raise the siege, and to depart with disgrace. His kingdom he enjoyed not long, for he died the eighteenth of July, 1100, after he had reigned one year wanting five days.

CHAPTER II.

Baldwin succeeded his brother Godfrey in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, and was crowned December the twenty-third that year; and to Baldwin succeeded his kinsman Baldwin of Bruges in the Earldom of Edessa. In the beginning of this King's reign, in the year 1101, came Josceline de Courtenay in the Holy Land, together with Stephen Count de Blois, and other nobles; and Baldwin of Bruges, Count of Edessa being his near kinsman; for their mothers were sisters, and he being in great prosperity, and enjoying large territories, like a kind kinsman, conferred on Josceline de Courtenay all that part of his country that laid on this side the Euphrates, in which were the cities of Coritium and Tulupa, and the large and fortified towns of Turbessel, Hamtah, Ravendell and some others; but reserved to himself all the country beyond Euphrates which bordered upon the enemy, and one town on this side, viz. Samosatum. This Josceline de Courtenay (as William Arch-Bishop of Tyre in his History says) was a man of great wisdom, careful and provident in his affairs; when necessity required it very liberal, at other times sparing; very moderate in his diet, and not very careful or solicitous about his habit; and by that means grew very rich, and governed the country his cousin Baldwin had given him with a great deal of industry. Baldwin the King, in the mean time, with the assistance of the fleet of the Genoses, (who for their pains were to have a third part of the spoil, and a whole street to themselves of every city that they took) won most considerable havens along the Mediterranean Sea. He began with Antipatris, to gain the credit which the Christians had lost at that place under Godfrey: but no wonder Godfrey succeeded no better, having no shipping to assist him.

Next he took Caesarea Stratonis; after that he defeated the Turks at Ramule; but a few days after he received a great overthrow at the same place, wherein, besides others, the Counts of Burgundy and Blois were slain; but he quickly recovered that blow; for the enemy not suspecting to be attacked again, gave themselves over to mirth and jollity, and Baldwin coming on them with fresh soldiers, put them to flight. This victory coming so soon after the overthrow, some authors mention not the overthrow, but the victory only. While the king was buried in that part, Tancred Prince of Galilee enlarged the Christian dominions by the taking of Apamea and Laodicea, cities in Caelosyria.

Ptolemais next was taken by the Christians, a city of the Mediterranean, of a triangular forms having two sides washed by the sea, the third looking towards the land: The Genoese gallies, being seventy in number, did the main service in conquering this place; and they had granted them for their reward, large profits from the harbour, a church to themselves, and jurisdiction over a fourth part of the city.

Much about the same time, Baldwin Count of Edessa, with Josceline de Courtenay his cousin, joining with Boemund Prince of Antioch and Tancred his nephews gathered all the forces they could, and agreed to march over the River Euphrates, and besiege Charran, a City pretty near to Edessa; there was also in this expedition Bernard Patriarch of Antioch, and Daimbert Patriarch of Jerusalem, which latter being banished from Jerusalem came and lived at Antioch; these all marched out with their armies to the siege of Charran; (This is that Charran to which Terah the father of Abraham went from Ur of the Chaldeans,

and carried with him his son Abraham, and his grandson Lot, and here they dwelt, and here Terah died; and here it was that Abraham received a command from God to leave his own country, and his own kindred, and to go into the land that God should tell him of; and here it was also that Crassus the rich Roman general was overthrown by the Parthians.) As soon as they came before the town they invested it; there was no great need of assaulting the town, for if they could but block it up so as to keep any from going in or out, they knew they should get the town, for there was little or no provision laid up for a siege: The cause of their great want was this; Baldwin Count of Edessa, having +or some time before a mind to get that town into his hands, contrived away how he might straighten them in provisions, and so force them to yield up the town; his way was this: in the midst between Edessa and the city Charran, which are about fourteen miles distant, there is a river, which by its water let out in chanel waters the adjacent plains, and so makes the country fertile; that part of the country that did lie on this side the river was reckoned to belong to Edessa, that which did lie on the other side did belong to Charran. Count Baldwin seeing that the city Charran had all its supply of provisions from this plains and knowing that Edessa might be supplied with provisions from this side of the river Euphrates, ordered his soldiers to make frequent incursions into this country, to hinder the countrymen from tilling the ground and to ravage the country; the people of Charran by these means were brought to great want: but the besieged having intelligence some considerable time beforehand of the Christians coming, sent messengers to the prince\$ of the East, telling them, that unless they came suddenly to their help they should be forced to yield up the town; and expecting +or some time, and finding no help came, and thinking with themselves it was better to yield up the town than to die by famine, they called a council, and agreed to surrender up the town, and there were some deputed to go out and surrender up the town to the Christians without any conditions: but there did most unhappily arise a dispute between the Count of Edessa and Boemund Prince of Antioch, to which of the two the town should be delivered up, and who should first erect his standard in the town, and they deferred to take possession of the town 'till next morning, thinking by that time they might come to some agreement in the thing, But now they found, by woful experience, how dangerous it is to neglect the present opportunity, for by next morning there appeared a great and formidable army of the Turks coming towards theme so that the Christians, seeing such a vast number, did despair of saving their lives. This army brought with them great quantities of provisions into the town. The day coming on, they that were designed to engage the victory, or that they should be able to stand long, but only to keep the Christian army employed, whilst the other party put the provisions into the town; on the other side, the Christians prepared themselves for the fight, and the two patriarchs encouraged the men all that they could: but a little time after the fight began the Christians gave way, which the enemy perceiving, they threw away their bows, and came upon them with their swords drawn, and made a very great slaughter of them. There were taken in the fight the Count of Edessa and Josceline de Courtenay, who being put in chains were carried captive into the enemies country afar off;

Boemund Prince of Antioch, Tancred his nephew, and the two patriarchs, fled away and got safe to Edessa; but the bishop of that place was taken captive and put in chains, and being committed to a Christian to keep, the Christian, understanding him to be a bishop, ventured his life, and let him go, and within a few days after he came safe to Edessa, and was received of the city with great joy, Prince Boemund, whilst he was at Antioch, finding that the Count of Edessa and Prince Josceline were taken prisoners, with the consent of the people, committed the government of the city Edessa and the whole country to Prince Tancred, upon condition, that when Count Baldwin returned he should have it all resigned to him; and he himself took into his own protection Prince Josceline's country, as lying next to his. There was never (as William Arch-Bishop of Tyre says) all the time that the Latines possessed the East, fought a battle so fatal to the Christians, nor were there ever so many brave men slain, nor was there such an ignominious flight. Whilst the Count of Edessa and Josceline de Courtenay were prisoners, Boemund, leaving the government of all to Tancred, went into Apulia, and returning to Palestine with a great navy, but the way he spoiled the harbours of Greece, to be revenged on the treacherous Alexius Emperor of Constantinople, who had not dealt fairly with the Latines in their march; and King Baldwin took the town Byblus, a good haven, as also Tripoli, and Berytus since called Barutus; and the King created one Bertram, a well-deserving nobleman, Count of Tripoli; which county is one of the four tetrarchies of the Kingdom of Jerusalem,

CHAP. III.

In the year 1109, Baldwin Count of Edessa, and Josceline de Courtenay his kinsman, after they had been prisoners five years, giving hostages that they would pay a certain sum of money for their ransom, were released and the hostages afterwards killing those that had the custody of them, escaped and got safe into their own country. When the Count of Edessa and Prince Josceline came to Edessa, Tancred at first refused them entrance; but considering the oath that he had made, that he would resign the city and the whole country to the Count, as soon as he should be released, he at last delivered all up to him, and Prince Josceline's country to him. But they bearing in mind the affront that Tancred had put upon them; in refusing them admittance into their own country, made war upon him; but Josceline de Courtenay did infest him most, because his garrisons did lie all of them on this side the Euphrates, and his country bordered upon the principality of Antioch. It happened one day, that Prince Josceline taking to his assistance some Turks that lived near him, (for the Turks had many castles and towns up and down the country still) marched into Tancred's country, spoiling and wasting the country, which Tancred hearing of, went out to meet him, and they engaging in battle, Prince Tancred at first was worsted, and five hundred of his men were killed; but his army taking courage, made a great slaughter of the Turks, and put Prince Josceline's army to flight. But the other princes of the country, considering that a quarrel between these great men was very pernicious

King Baldwin in the mean while besieged Sidon, and by the help of the Danish and Norwegian fleets took it December the nineteenth, 1112; after that he besieged Tyre, but did not succeed so well; for after some time spent therein, he was forced to raise the siege; and, in the year 1113, he received a great overthrow from the Persians, wherein he lost many men, and escaped himself with great difficulty.

In the same year, viz. 1113, it happened, that in the county of Edessa there was a great famine, partly by reason of the unseasonableness of the weather, and partly because that country bordering upon the enemies country, the countrymen were hindered from tilling their ground; so that the inhabitants of Edessa and the country round were forced to live upon bread made of barley and acorns mixed together: but Prince Josceline's country, both by his great care in management, and because it did lie on this side Euphrates, and so more remote from the enemy, did abound in all sorts of provisions. But, as it is said, Prince Josceline was too sparing in supplying Count Baldwin and his country with provision out of his abundance and it happened also, that Baldwin Count of Edessa sent messengers upon some business to Roger Prince of Antioch, (whose sister Prince Roger had married, and Josceline de Courtenay married his sister) and, in their going and returning, passing through Prince Josceline's country, they were very well received and entertained by him; but whilst they were there, some of Josceline de Courtenay's family discoursing with these messengers which the Count had sent; after some time they grew pretty warm in discourse, and Prince Josceline's servants began to upbraid them with the poverty of the Count their master, and to extol the great riches of their own master, the extraordinary plenty of corn, wine and oil, of gold and silver that he had, as also the great number of soldiers both horse and foot that he maintained adding moreover, that the Count their master was unfit to govern his country, and that it would be advisable for him to sell his country for a sum of money to Prince Josceline, and to return to France: which words, although the messengers did not seem to take much notice of, yet it stuck deep in their minds; and although they were spoken by men of inferior quality, yet they thought they did express the meaning of their master; and taking their leave of Prince Josceline they returned to the Count their master, where being come, they told him all that had happened by the way, and what words they had heard in Prince Josceline's court, which when the Count their master had heard, he was very angry; and considering with himself the words which he had heard, he thought they must proceed from Prince Josceline himself, and was very much incensed, that he upon whom he had conferred such large territories, and who in point of gratitude out of his abundance ought to have supplied his necessities, upbraided him with his poverty, which yet did happen to him not from his own fault, but out of inevitable necessity, whereas the plenty Prince Josceline gloried in was all owing to his bounty. Being therefore much enraged, he lies himself down upon his bed, feigning himself sick, and sends to Prince Josceline to come speedily unto him. Prince Josceline suspecting nothing at all, made hast to come unto him, and coming to Edessa, he finds the Count in the Castle lying upon his bed in an inner room; when he came into the room, having saluted the Count, he asked him how he did? To whom the Count made answers 'Much better, thanks be to GOD, than you would have me be, "And going on with his speech said to him, "Josceline, have you anything which I did not give you?" To which he answered,

Nothing. What is the reason then", said he "that you are so ungrateful and forgetful of kindnesses, that you do not only not help me in my necessities, (which came upon me not though my own fault, but from an accident which no man could avoid) but also the poverty which GOD hath been pleased to send upon me, you upbraid me with, and do object it to me as a fault, as if it came through my own neglect? Am I such a bad husband that I should sell all that GOD has blessed me with, and fly to my own country, as thou sayest? Resign what I gave you, and deliver up all, because thou hast made thy self unworthy of it." And having said this, he commanded him to be seized, and to be put in chains, and put him to great torment, until he had made him to abjure the country, and resign up all his territories into the Count's hands.

Prince Josceline being thus deprived of all, and leaving his country, he went immediately to Baldwin King of Jerusalem, declares to him all that had happened unto him, and withal tells him, that he had a mind to go into France his native country again. The king hearing this, and knowing him to be a very necessary man for the kingdom, gave him the City Tiberias, with the country belonging to it, for a perpetual inheritance, that he might have the assistance of so great a man; which city and the country round, as long as he was there, (which was 'till the death of King Baldwin) he governed prudently and stoutly, and by his good conduct enlarged his territories very much. And whereas Tyre was yet in the infidels hands, after the example of his predecessor in that government, he infested the inhabitants very much, and although Tiberias is a pretty way from Tyre, and there are considerable mountains which separate the country, yet he often made incursions into the enemies country, and did them a great deal of damage.

Whilst Josceline de Courtenay was Prince of Tiberias, which was the five last years of King Baldwin's reign, (it being a time in which there was not much war) King Baldwin took several journeys of pleasure in the year 1116 he took a journey to the Red Sea, when he viewed the country, the strength and situation of the places thereabout; the next year he went into Egypt; and, conceiving himself engaged in honour to make one inroad into that country, in part of payment of those many excursions the Egyptians had made into his kingdom, in this expedition he took the city Pharamia, now called Ramesses: then he went and viewed the River Nile; and whilst he was there he took a surfeit in eating of fish, which renewed the grief of an old wound which he many years before received at the siege of Ptolemais, and died at Laris, a city in the way from Egypt, on the twenty sixth of March, 1118, in the eighteenth year of his reign; and was brought to Jerusalem, and buried on Palm-Sunday in the Temple of the Sepulchre.

It happened, that the same day King Baldwin was buried, Baldwin de Bruges, his kinsman and Count of Edessa, came accidentally in the city, intending only there to keep his Easter. Baldwin the King being dead, the nobles of the kingdom, the Arch-Bishops and bishops, together with Arnulphus the patriarch of Constantinople, and a great many of the lay-nobles, (amongst whom was Josceline de Courtenay Prince of Tiberias) being met together, they deliberated what was to be done in the present juncture of affairs, and several of them gave their opinions some said it was best for them to stay 'till Count Eustace, the brother of the two former kings, who was then in Europe, did arrive, for that the succession was not to be broken; especially seeing his brother of blessed memory had governed the kingdom so well, and to the general satisfaction; others said, that the urgent necessities of the kingdom should not admit of so long

delay, as to stay 'till the arrival of Count Eustace from Europe, but that they must make haste to the election of a king, who, in case of necessity, might lead forth their armies, and take care of the other concerns of the kingdom. This diversity of opinions Prince Josceline, being at present a man of the greatest authority in the Kingdom, and being, as William Arch-Bishop of Tyre says, powerful both in deed and word, took away; for having first tried the patriarch, and finding him inclined to his mind, he says to them, that there was present in the city Baldwin Count of Edessa, one that was just and courageous, and in all things worthy of commendation, than whom, no country or nation could find a man fitter to take upon him the administration of the government. Some thought that Prince Josceline said this, not out of any love to Count Baldwin, seeing he had used him so barbarously a little before; but only out of design, by getting him made king, that he might succeed him in the Earldom of Edessa; but the generality not thinking of any such thing, but considering that character of Count Baldwin, seeing it came from an enemy, must be true, inclined to the opinion of the patriarch and Prince Josceline; and Count Baldwin was unanimously chosen king, and solemnly crowned on Easter-Day, 1118.

Baldwin being now made King, and being solicitous for his County of Edessa, which he had left without a Governour, calls unto him Prince Josceline his kinsman; and, that he might make him full satisfaction for the injury he had done him, in turning him out of his country, he gave unto him the County of Edessa; and the rather, because he knew that Prince Josceline was best acquainted with the country; and having taken an oath of fidelity from him, he put him in possession of the county; and sending for his wife, children and the rest of his family, by the help of prince Josceline, they all arrived safe at Jerusalem.

CHAPTER IV

The next year, being 1119, Gazzi, a potent prince among the Turks, being joined by Doldequine King of Damascus, and Dabeis a prince of Arabia, with great forces invaded the country of Antioch, and came and pitched their camp near Aleppo; which, when Roger Prince of Antioch heard of, he sent messengers to the princes round about; to Josceline Count of Edessa, to Pontius Count of Tripoli, and to the King of Jerusalem, telling them what danger he was in, and desiring their speedy assistance.

The king therefore, and the other princes, made all the haste they could to assist him: but he being impatient of delay, marched out from Antioch and gave them battle, in which battle the Christians were worsted; and Prince Roger himself, endeavoring to rally his scattered forces, but in vain, and fighting stoutly in the midst of his enemies, was slain. But King Baldwin, on the fourteenth of August following, forced the Turks to a restitution of their victory, and with a small army gave them a great overthrow,

But in the year 1121, Baldwin the king, and Germund the patriarch of Jerusalem, with the lords both spiritual and temporal, being met at a general assembly in Neapolis, a town of Samaria, Gazzi, taking the opportunity

of the king's absence, draws out his forces and besieges one of the king's castles; which when the king heard of, taking with him Count Josceline and the nobles of Antioch, he marches towards the enemy, and as they were expecting to come to a battle, Gazzi was seized with a fit of an apoplexy whereupon his generals and chief commanders, thinking it best to decline a battle\$ carrying their lord in a chariot, hastened to Aleppo; but before they could arrive there Gazzi died.

In the year 1122, Count Josceline, with a kinsman of his called Galeran, was most unhappily surprised by Balac a Prince of the Turks, and carried captive to a castle of the enemies called Quartapiert; and after that, the country being deprived of their governour, Balac made several incursions into the country, and wasted it very much: but hearing that the king was coming into that country to defend it, he desisted for some time from his ravages. The king then marching with his army into the County of Edessa, that he might be assisting to the people who had lost their governour, and, going thro' the country, made diligent enquiry, whether the castles were well fortified, and whether every garrison had a sufficient number of horse and foot, as also arms and provisions; and where there was any want of either, he supplied it. It happened, that the king being solicitous to see all things in good condition, and going from Turbessel to Edessa, to see what condition the places were in beyond Euphrates, as well as on this side, as he was journeying in the night with a small retinue, some of them sleeping, and other riding carelessly on the road, Balac, who knew of the king's journey before, lying in ambush, rushed out upon the king, and finding his guards unprovided, seizes upon him, and carries him away captive to the same castle where Prince Josceline was kept prisoner; the news of which coming to Jerusalem, all the Christians were in a great consternation, and very much concerned of the loss of their king; and the patriarch, with all the bishops and temporal lords, meeting all together at Acon, unanimously chose Eustace Greiner, Lord of Sidon and Caesarea, Viceroy of the kingdom. The king then and the Count of Edessa being detained in prison, certain Armenians of Count Josceline's country, being very much concerned that such great princes should be kept prisoner, entered into a desperate design, and promised them a very great reward if they did succeed: however it was, there were fifty stout courageous men that bound themselves by an oath, that they would all go, although to the extream hazard of their lives, and endeavour to rescue the king and the count out of prison; and taking upon them the habit of monks, and carrying under their cloaths short daggers, they went into the town where the king and the count were prisoners, as they had some business there concerning the affairs of their monastery; when they were come to the town, with sad looks and mournful tone, they complained to the governour of some injuries that had been done to their monastery; the governour, to whom it did belong to see that no injury should be done to any that lived in the country thereabout, promised them that he would see it redressed. Others say, that they feigned themselves pedlars, and went to the town under pretence of selling small wares; however it was, they were let into the town, and as soon as they came in, they drew out their daggers, and killed every one they met, and having got possession of the castle, they set the king and Count Josceline at liberty. The king designed to send out the Count to fetch help and assistance, while he with the Armenians defended the castle against the enemy; but

the Turks that lived in the neighbourhood, hearing what had happened, took up arms, and coming to the town, they took care, that 'till Balac their prince came to them, no one should go in or out of the town; but Prince Josceline, taking with him three men, went out of the castle, and passed through the enemies camp, as they did lie before the town, and being got out beyond their lines, he sends back one of his three companions to tell the king, that he was got safe beyond the enemies camp, and gives him his ring to shew to the king for his satisfaction; with the other two he goes on in his journey. The king with those Armenians that did set him at liberty, fortified the castle as well as he could, endeavouring to defend it, if possible, 'till the forces that he expected came to his assistance; but Balac, being disturbed in a dream that he had much about the same time, wherein he dreamt, that Count Josceline, with his own hands, had pulled out his eyes; he was so much concerned, that the next morning he sent certain messengers to the town, where they had been kept prisoners, and commanded them without any delay to behead Count Josceline; who coming to the town, and finding what had happened, went back again with all speed, and told their lord all that they had seen and heard. Balac getting all the forces he could together, marches with all speed to besiege the town; and having begirt it round, he sends to the king, that if he would immediately deliver up the castle to him, that he with all that did belong to him should have free liberty to go out of the town, and he would conduct them home to the city of Edessa: but the king, trusting to the strength of the place, and hoping by the assistance of those that were in it, that he should be able to keep it 'till more forces came to his help, rejects the conditions offered by Balac, and endeavours to defend the town. Balac, being very much enraged that his conditions were slighted, calls for his engineers, and attacks the town all the ways, and with the greatest vehemence he could. It happened there was an hill, upon which part of the town stood, which was chalky, and easily to be undermined; Balac seeing the town could be most easily assaulted that way, he orders the pioneers to dig under the hill, and great beams and other materials to be put in to support the upper part, and then orders the beams and other combustible matter which were laid in to be set on fire, so that the hill and a tower that was built upon it fell down with a great noise. The king, fearing lest the whole castle should be overturned the same way, resigns the castle to Balac at discretion Balac having got the castle into his possession, gives the king and his nephew Galteran their lives, and sent them away bound to Charran, a city near to Edessa, and there orders them to be kept with a strict guard; but the Armenians, who had ventured their lives so courageously for the sake of the king and the count, he put to most exquisite torment; some he ordered to be slead alive, some to be sawn a-two, others to be buried alive, and others he set up as a mark for boys to shoot at. Count Josceline, in the mean time, with a little provision and two bladders, which by chance he had carried with him, came to the River Euphrates, where consulting with his companions how he should get over the river, he took the two bladders and tied them under his arms, his companions, who were skilled in swimming, on both sides directing him; and by this way he got safe over the river, and then by tedious journeys, often suffering hunger and thirst, he came at last to his own city Turbessel. The count of Edessa being almost spent by the tediousness of his journey, and by hunger, sat himself down under a tree to sleep, and covered himself with bushes that he

might not be discovered; in the mean time, one of his company went out to see whether he could get any provision; and, as he went, he met with a countryman an Armenian, with a little basket of bread, and he desired him to go with him to the Count lying hid under the tree. As soon as the countryman saw the Count he knew him, and said to him, "GOD save you, my Lord Joceline! GOD bless you, most noble Count, and most beloved by your people!" The Count, desiring to conceal himself, denied that he was the man whom the countryman took him to be; but the countryman said to him, "Be not afraid, noble Count, neither do you suspect me, who do know you very well: And I swear to you, that if you command me, I will do all that I can to save you from harm." Then the Count said to him "Take pity upon me, honest countryman; and I adjure you, by your faith in CHRIST and love to him, that you do not discover me to my enemies: but I will give you any thing that you shall ask of me, if you will carry me safe to Turbessel." The countryman said, 'I have a wife, and a daughter an infant; I will commit myself and them to your faith and generosity, and will go wheresoever you will have me'; and then he goes home, and fetches his wife and child, and all that he had, and comes again to the Count. The Count rides upon the countryman's ass, and carries his little child in his lap, that he might travel on the better undiscovered, and so at length got safe to Turbessel. The Count being come into his own town, rewarded the Armenian countryman, and made him a captain of a company.

From Turbessel Prince Joceline, taking a greater retinue with him, went to Antioch, to solicit the nobles of the country to go and assist the king; and, by the advice of the patriarch of Antic, he goes from thence to Jerusalem, and declares to the patriarch of that place, and to all the princes, what had happened, desires of them speedy assistance, and tells them the business would not admit of delay.

At his perswasion, they all unanimously agreed to go and succour the king; and taking the holy cross with them, they marched on, and took from the towns through which they passed what forces they could get to their assistance; at last they came to Antic, and took with them all the soldiers of that country, and from thence Count Josceline led them to Turbessel; when they came there, they heard what had happened to the king, and that the castle was again surrendered to the enemy, and the king carried prisoner to Charran; whereupon they thought it would not signify any thing to march on any farther, and therefore they agreed that every one should go home to his own country; but that they might not be thought to take such a long march to no purpose, they designed, as they passed by Aleppo, to see whether they could do any damage to the enemy; but as they came near the city, the garrison came out against them; but they soon made them retire with great loss, and staid in that country four days, wasting and spoiling the same.

A little while after, Balac, who kept the King still prisoner at Charran, went and besieged Hierapolis, and whilst he was besieging the town, he sends to the governour of the town, desiring that he would come out and treat with him, promising him safe conduct, The governour, being too credulous, went out to him, and as soon as he came, Balac commanded him perfidiously to be beheaded.

Count Josceline hearing that Balac laid siege to Hierapolis, and how he had killed the Governour of the place, and fearing lest a town as near him as Hierapolis was should come into the hands of such a potent enemy, gathered all his forces together, and as many as he could get from

the principality of Antioch, and marched out to fight Balac; and coming upon him on a sudden, he put his army to flight, and in the midst of the flight, by chance meeting Balac, he killed him with his own hand, and cut off his head, not knowing him at first to be the Prince. "Here, says the Archbishop of Tyre, "Balac's dream came to be fulfilled; for he may truly" (says he) "be said to have his eyes pulled out, whose head is cut off."

The Count then being a very wise man, and nothing wanting in him to make him an experienced general, sends a young man of his army with the head of Balac through Antioch, and all the country, to the Christian army that was then besieging Tyre, that he might certify them of the great victory; which when the army that was before Tyre saw, they were exceedingly animated, and it did not concur a little towards the getting of that town, which was surrendered up to them a few days after.

Pontius Count of Tripoly, out of the great respect he had to Count Josceline, and for the good message that he came upon, knighted the young man that brought the news and as this victory of Count Josceline helped on the taking of Tyre, which was surrendered up to the Christians in the year 1124 so it concurred towards the releasing of the king: for Balac being now dead, the king obtained his freedom, upon the promise of paying one hundred thousand Michealites, and left his daughter an hostage for the payment of the same, He was set at liberty the 29th of June in the year 1124, after he had been prisoner more that eighteen months; and being at liberty he goes to Antioch, and from thence to Jerusalem.

CHAPTER V.

Not long after, several messengers came to the king, and told him, that a great prince of the East, called Bursequine, with a great army, had passed over the River Euphrates, and was come into the country of Antioch, the king immediately getting what forces he could together marched towards him.

Bursequine, calling to his assistance Doldoquine King of Damascus, besieged a castle called Caphardan, and forced the garrison to surrender. From thence he marches through the Lesser Syria, and besieges a town called Sandanum; and after some days, seeing he could not get the town, he raises the siege, and sets down before a larger town, but not so well fortify'd, called Hasard, and whilst he was preparing his engines, and carrying on the siege with all diligence, the king, accompany'd with Count Josceline and the Count of Tripoly, came to the help of the besieged; and, as he drew near to the enemy, he divided his army into three parts: on the right he placed the nobles of Antioch with their forces, on the left, Count Josceline and the Count of Tripoly with their forces, and the main by the King commanded himself. Bursequine seeing the King coming towards him, and that with a design to fight him, and knowing that he could not honourably decline a battle, (for he was much superiour in number) he draws out his army, and a battle did ensue in which the Christians obtained a considerable victory, put the enemy to flight slew two thousand

of them, and lost but four and twenty of their own. Bursequine, finding that things happened far otherwise than he expected, repassed the Euphrates, and went home to his own country. The king with the spoil that he took from the enemy, and with the money which his friends had liberally contributed paid his ransom, and had his daughter of five years old restored to him, which he had given for an hostage, and taking leave of the nobles of Antioch, he returns conqueror to Jerusalem.

Boemund Prince of Antioch being, now of age, and taking the government upon him, (he was the son of Boemund first Prince of Antioch, and, in his minority, first Tancred, and then Roger, his kinsmen, governed the principality for him,) there arose an unhappy dissention between him and Count Josceline; so that the Count calling to his assistance some of the neighbouring Turks, marched into the principality of Antioch, wasted the country\$ and carried away a great many prisoners; all which was done whilst Prince Boemund was absent, and whilst he was employed against the Turks somewhere else; so that Count Josceline was blamed very much by all that heard of it: but the king hearing of it, and being very much afraid, lest by this dissention there might be a way made for the enemy to break in upon the Christians, and considering; that they were both his near kinsmen, (the Prince had but lately married his daughter, and the Count was his mother's sister's son) he went with all speed into those parts, and taking to his assistance Bernard Patriarch of Antioch, he happily composed the difference. At that time Count Josceline fell sick, and repenting of what he had done, he made a vow, that if it pleased GOD to give him life and health, he would make full satisfaction to the Price of Antioch, which accordingly he did; for recovering out of his indisposition, in the presence of the King and Patriarch, they were reconciled together, and continued good friends.

In the year 1128, Hugh de Paganis, the first master of the Knights-Templars, with several others, being sent by the King and other Princes of the East into the West, to solicit the Princes of the West to send more aid to the Christians in the Holy Land, and to besiege the famous town of Damascus; and being returned with considerable forces, all the Princes of the East, viz. King Baldwin, Foulk Count of Anjou, Pontius Count of Tripoly, Boemund Prince of Antioch, and Josceline de Courtenay Count of Edessa, joined all their forces together, and went to besiege Damascus, hoping either to force it to surrender, or to take it by storm: and as they came into the country of Damascus, near to a place called Mergesaphar, there was sent out into the country round about a great detachment to forage, to bring in necessaries for the camp; and William de Buris with a thousand horse was to guard them; but they, as is usual, straggling far into the country, and separating from one another, that one might not know what the other had got, and observing little or no order, Doldequine Prince of Damascus hearing of it, and thinking that he might set upon them unprovided, and ignorant of the country, took some of the best soldiers, and those that were fittest for dispatch, and comes upon them on a sudden, and unprovided, quickly puts them to flight, kills a great many of them straggling up and down the fields, and never leaves off pursuing them 'till he had routed the horse that came to guard them, and killed many of them. The news of this coming to the Christian army, they were all very much enraged, and were resolved to revenge the death of their friends; but as they were marching to attack the enemy, there arose on a sudden a most violent storm, by which the air was darkened, and the ways were filled with water, so that they could not march; upon this the Christians changed their design; and those that before

were a terror to the enemy, and thought of nothing less than the taking of Damascus, were glad to return safe into their own country.

In the year 1130, a little after Boemund Prince of Antioch had returned from that expedition, Rodoan Prince of Aleppo entered the confines of Antioch, The Prince, hoping to drive him from his country, went out to fight him, and meeting him in a plain which was called the Field of Cloaks, the Prince's army was routed, and he most unfortunately slain in the place. The King hearing this, made all the haste he could to Antioch; but the princess, the king's daughter, hearing that her husband was dead, sends to Sanquin, a powerful prince of the Turks, messengers with presents, hoping, by his help, to put by her daughter, which she had by Prince Boemund, and to keep the principality herself.

The king meeting the messenger by the way, and he confessing what message he was going about, immediately orders him to be put to death. There "ere some in the city in the mean time, that did not like the princess's proceedings, and sent privately to the king, and to Foulk Count of Anjou, and to Count Josceline, which last came, and took possession of the gates, and so let the king into the city; upon which the princess retired into the castle; but after much entreaty, being perswaded to come out, she come forth, and submitted to her father. The king then taking the government upon himself, gave her two towns for her dowry, which her husband had assigned her, and returns to Jerusalem. A little while after his return, the king falls sick, and finding that he could not live, he goes to the patriarch's house, and sending for his son-in-law, Foulk Count of Anjou, his daughter, and their son, a little child of two years old, he resigns his kingdom into their hands, and takes upon him the habit of a monk: he died the 21st day of August, in the year 1131, in the 13th year of his reign. Foulk Count of Anjou was crowned the 18th of the calends of October, or the 14th of September, 1131.

About this time, Josceline de Courtenay, Count of Edessa, being wearied out with long sickness, and every day expecting to breathe out his last; for it happened, that the year before, as he was besieging a castle near Aleppo, and endeavouring to undermine a tower, and standing too near it, the tower falling on a sudden fell upon him, broke his bones, and almost buried him in the rubbish\$ so that his men could hardly get him out; as he was in this miserable condition, lo a messenger came to him, and told him, that the Sultan of Iconium, taking the opportunity of his sickness had laid siege to a certain town of his, called Croisson; which, as soon as this courageous prince had heard, being feeble in body, but still of a stout heart, he sends for his son, and bids him take the forces of the country, and go and fight the enemy, and supply the place of his father, that was now disabled, His son began to excuse himself, saying, That the Sultan had a very great army, and all the forces that he could get together would not be able to oppose him: Count Josceline, being concerned that his son should show himself so timorous, immediately commands all his forces to be gathered together, and all the strength of the country, and orders a horse-litter to be got ready, and forgetting his weakness and his pains, was carried at the head of his army in order to fight the enemy; and when in this manner he had marched on a little way, one of his nobles came to him, (his name was Geoffery Monk) and told him, That the Sultan of Iconium, hearing of his coming, had raised the siege with precipitation, and made all the haste he could to get home: which when the brave Count had heard, he orders the horse-litter in which he was carried to be let down, and lifting up his eyes to

heaven, with tears, he gave thanks to GOD, who in the very last moments of his life had been so gracious and favourable to him, as that half-dead, and just expiring he should be such a terror to the enemies of the Christian faith; and as he was returning thanks to GOD, he gives up the ghost. Thus did this Christian hero, saith the Arch-Bishop of Tyre, transported more with the excess of his joy than of his pains, render unto GOD his generous soul, going to the eternal triumphs of a glorious immortality, whilst his army, victorious by him only, without fighting, reconducted his body in the litter, as in a triumphal chariot, to Edessa, there to receive the honours due to one of the bravest actions that ever was performed. This illustrious prince finished his glorious life in the year 1131, after he had been above thirty years in the Holy Land, continually fighting against the enemies of the Christian faith. He spent above twelve years in that part of the County of Edessa which his cousin Baldwin gave him, which by his prudence and vigilance he very much enriched he was Prince of Tiberias five years, during which time he got several advantages over the Turks: the remaining part of his life he was Count of Edessa, which being a country bordering upon the enemy, he was almost in continual wars, with variety of success, but for the most part a conqueror and as he spent his life in continual wars against the Turks, so he ended it like a most courageous Prince of the Crusade, and conquered with his name, when his body was quite decayed, and he just about to expire. He was, as the Arch-Bishop Of Tyre says, a nobleman of France, of the Country of Gastinois, a younger son of Joscelin de Courtenay, first of that name, by Isabel Daughter of Milo de Montleberry, who was sister to King Baldwin's mother. The Arch-Bishop also describes him, a man very prudent and circumspect in his business, provident in the management of his private affairs; the best master of a family; when necessity did require liberals but at other times thrifty; temperate in his diet, and very plain in his apparel; and by this prudent management he enriched that country that Count Baldwin gave him. This character the Arch-Bishop gives of him when he speaks of him in the beginning; but afterward he says, he was one of the greatest men of all the East, as it appeared at the Election of King Baldwin, and at other times; one to whom there was nothing wanting to make him a most accomplished General. He had two wives, the first was sister of one Levon, an Armenian, by whom he had Josceline that succeeded him in the County of Edessa: his second wife was a sister of Roger Prince of Antioch, in the minority of his cousin Boemund, by whom he had a daughter named Stephania, abbess of the church called Great St. Mary's, which is in Jerusalem before our Saviour's Sepulchre, It was usual for the Christian princes in the Holy Land, having but few women of their own, to take wives from the Armenians, being their neighbors, and of the Christian religion; King Baldwin when he was Count of Edessa did so; of whom the Arch-Bishop of Tyre relates a pleasant story, viz,

Baldwin, when he was Count of Edessa, not being able to pay his soldiers for want of money, and not knowing what to do, at last contrives this stratagem; he goes with part of his soldiers as a guard to visit his father-in-law, an Armenian, who was a great man, and very rich; and whilst he was there, his soldiers, as it was agreed between their prince and them, began to mutiny, and to demand their pay, or else what he had promised them the old man the Armenian, the Count's father-in-law, asked him what it meant? He told him, that he had promised them their money by a day prefixed, or else gave them leave to cut off his beard;

The old man startled at this, (for it is an abomination to the Armenians to have their boards cut off) gave him the money to pay the soldiers, and made him promise that he would never engage his beard more.

Count Josceline had a younger brother, Geoffry de Courtenay, sirnamed de Champlay or Chaplay, that signalized himself also in the Holy War, and lost his life in fighting against the infidels, about four or five years after the death of the Count: the manner of it thus; Sanguin a prince of the Turks, hearing that Pontius Count of Tripoly had been slain a little before by the governour of Aleppo, and knowing that the young Count was gone out of the country with his forces to revenge his father's death, besieges a fortress belonging to the Count of Tripoly near the city of Raphania, seated on a mountain called Mount Ferrand; he pressed the besieged very closely; and the Count of Tripoly hearing of it, sends forth-with to King Foulk, desiring he would come and help him, telling him that the garrison was brought to the lost extremity; the King gets all his forces together and marches into the country of Tripoly, and when he came near the castle that was besieged, Sanguin hearing of it, raises the siege, and draws out his forces to meet the king; the king marches on to put if he could provisions into the town; but those who had the command of the vanguard, whether or through ignorance it is uncertain, left a plain open road, and, declining towards the left, marched the army through a narrow rocky way, where it was impossible to draw up their men in order of battle: Sanguin hearing of this, and being a cunning and experienced general, and knowing he could not have a fitter opportunity to set upon the Christian army, comes upon them on a sudden, and puts the troops that were foremost to flight; the commanders finding that, and seeing they could not come up to their help, advised the king to consult his safety, and retire into the town: the king upon that went with a few only into, the garrison, most of the Christian foot being either slain or taken prisoners. In this battle was taken the Count of Tripoly, with a great many knights, but part followed the king, and got into the town after him. The Christians that day lost all their baggage, and all the provisions that they had a design to put into the town; for they that got into the town had not time to get in any provisions with them, but went in only with their armour that they had about them. In that fight, amongst the rest, saith the Arch-Bishop of Tyre, was slain Geoffry Chaply, brother to Count Josceline, a man famous both for his nobility and his great experience in warlike affairs, whose death was cause of great grief to many; and the whole army lamented the loss of him, as a stout courageous prince; thus died this great man, after the example of his brother, in fighting against the infidels, after he had defended the cause of the Christians with great honour a good part of his life.

BOOK II

Chapter 1.

Count Josceline dying a little after King Baldwin, his son Josceline succeeded him in the County of Edessa; and as soon almost as he came to his government, in the first year of King Foulk, he, together with Pontius Count of Tripoly, and William de Saona, whose widow Count Josceline afterwards married, was induced by rewards and large promises to countenance Constantia, the relict of Boemund Prince of Antioch, in the taking upon her the government of Antioch, and to put by her daughter, who was heiress to it; but the King hearing of it, hastens to Antioch, takes the government upon him, and continues there for some time, all things being quiet at Jerusalem, but at length his affairs requiring his presence at Jerusalem, he returns home, and leaves the government of that principality to a nobleman of that country, named Rainaldus Mansner.

About two or three years after, the King having his army routed by Sanguin in the battle, in which Geoffery de Courtenay was slain, as we have before related, and flying to the castle called Mount Ferrand, after he had consulted with those that fled into the castle with him, sends to the Prince of Antioch, and to Count Josceline, and to the Patriarch of Jerusalem, acquainting them what a condition he was in, and desiring them that they would send him speedy assistance upon this, the Prince of Antioch and the Count of Edessa gathered what forces they could together, and made all the haste they could to his assistance. In the mean while the garrison suffered very much by hunger, Prince Rainald or Raimond came up with his forces, and Count Josceline was not far off with a great army after him; and another great army from Jerusalem, with the Holy Cross before them, were hastening to the King's assistance; all which when Sanguin heard, fearing to encounter with so great a number, as also being afraid left the Emperour of Constantinople, who was then come into Antioch with a mighty army, should come also to the relief of the king, he sends to the besieged, before they knew that those armies were so near, this message, viz. That the castle being half demolished could not hold out long, and that the garrison within being almost famished, had no strength left to make any resistance; but that his army did abound with all things necessary; yet for the King's sake, whom

he reckoned to be a mighty prince among the Christians, he would restore all the captives that he had taken, the Count of Tripoly among the rest, and give the King leave to march out with all the garrison, if he would resign up the castle to him. The Christians, not knowing that help was so near, and being wearied out with hunger and continual watchings, were glad of so good news, accept of the conditions, and forthwith the Count of Tripoly and a great many other prisoners are restored, and the castle delivered up to Sanguine and the King, as soon as he had marched down the hills into the plains adjoining to Archis, heard of the coming of the Prince of Antioch and the Count of Edessa.

The King came up to them, approved of their care and love, and the Prince and the Count, having taken leave of the King, return to their own country.

About this time news came, that John Emperour of Constantinople, with a vast army, and a great number of chariots and horsemen, was marching with great speed towards Syria: neither was the report false; for, as soon as the Emperour had heard that the citizens of Antioch had delivered up the city to Raimond, and had given him Prince Boemund's daughter to wife, he designed forthwith to march to Antioch, being very angry, that without his leave they presumed to dispose of the daughter of their Prince in marriage and deliver up the principality to another; for he said, that principality, with all the adjacent provinces, did of right belong to him; for the princes that made the first voyage to the Holy Land did promise, upon the Emperour's assisting them, that if they took that country they would deliver it up to the Emperour: hereat Raimond and all the Latines stormed: some pleaded, that the illusage that Godfrey of Bouillon received from the Emperour Alexius extorted from him and the rest of the pilgrims that agreement, and that an oath extorted by force is of no validity others, that when Antioch was first won, it was offered to the Emperour Alexius, and he refused it; others argued, that General was dead that made this contract, and that those that are now living were not bound to make good the contract. None of these answers would satisfy the Emperour, but he marches with his vast army towards Antioch, and in his way takes Tarsus, the metropolis of Cilicia; and turned out all the soldiers of the Prince of Antioch, he puts a garrison of his own in it, and does the same to Adama, Manistra, and all the towns of Cilicia; so that all the country of Cilicia, which for forty years together the Princes of Antioch had quietly enjoyed, he takes into his own hands; and marching on, he came and sate down before Antioch; whereupon Foulk King of Jerusalem, with some other princes, fearing what woful conclusion would follow, made a composition between them to this effect; that Prince Raimond in the presence of all the nobles should swear allegiance to the Emperour, and that the Emperour whenever he pleased should have liberty to go into Antioch; and if ever the Emperour should take Aleppo, Caesarea, and the adjacent country from the Turks, that the Prince, in exchange for these places, should freely resign Antioch to the Emperour. And the agreement being thus made, the Emperour fixes his standard in one of the towers of Antioch, and winter coming on, he marches his army homewards, promising to come again next spring, and to assist the Prince in taking Aleppo and the other towns, which he had promised the Prince in exchange for Antioch.

In the spring the Emperour comes back with his vast army, and all things being ready for taking the field, he sends to the Prince of Antioch and the Count of Edessa to join their forces with his, In the beginning

of April, that he might make good the bargain between him and the Prince, he marches his army towards Caesarea, and when he was set down before the place the Prince of Antioch and Count of Edessa joins him with all their forces. The Emperour being a stout and courageous Prince, and withal very vigilant, rides up and down the army, animating his soldiers, and giving the necessary orders; but the Prince and the Count being young, were too much addicted to the pleasures of youth, and whilst others were busied in carrying on the siege, they spent most of their time in gaming, to the damage of their estates, and by their ill way of living in the camp, made others remiss in their duty. The Emperour being very much concerned at the ill behaviour of these two Princes, privately admonished them, and desired them that they would leave that way of living, and mind the business they were come about, proposing to them his own example, who, although he was a great Emperour, yet he spared no pains nor labour in carrying on the siege. At length, having lain before the town for some time, and made no great progress in the siege, the Emperour being grieved that a little town should stand out so long against such a great army, he commands them to double their attacks, and taking the suburbs by storm, the soldiers put all to the sword, except the Christians that were found there; those within seeing this, and being afraid, that if the town should be taken by storm, that they, their wives, and their children should be all slain, desire time to capitulate. The governour of the town was an Arabian, by name Machedolus, he sends out messengers to the Emperour, and promises him a vast sum of money if he would raise the siege. The Emperour being very much concerned, that the Prince and the Count should live so dissolutely, and the more, because for their sakes he had undertaken the siege, accepts of the conditions, receives the money, and draws off his army from the town, and commands it to march towards Antioch. The Prince and the Count, being sorry too late for what they had done, endeavour to dissuade the Emperour from his designs but, notwithstanding all their entreaties, he still persists in it, and hastens his march towards Antioch. Some say, that Count Josceline had some design in all this; for he carrying in his mind (as it appeared afterward) a hatred against the Prince of Antioch, and being not willing that he should grow greater, as being more cunning, did seduce the mind of that imprudent young prince, and endeavoured all that he could to bring him into disgrace with the Emperour.

The Emperour then coming to Antioch, enters into the town, accompanied with his sons, and a very great retinue, and having spent some time in feasting and magnificent entertainments, he commands the Prince, the Count, and other nobles to come to him; and in their presence speaks to the Prince of Antioch to this effect: You know, my beloved son Raimond, how that for your sake, and that, according to the agreement between us, I might enlarge your dominions, I have staid a long time in these parts, and now an opportunity being given, it is high time I should make good my promise to you, and put the adjacent country into your possession you know withal, as also those that are here present, how that this business requires some considerable time, and great expences; it is necessary therefore, that, according to the agreement, you should put this town of Antioch into our hands, that our army may the better quarter there, and that our treasure may be kept safe; for provisions and warlike preparations cannot so easily be brought from Tarsus, and other towns of Cilicia, towards the carrying on the siege of Aleppo; but this city,

above any other, stands fittest for the design; fullfil therefore your promise, and do what you are obliged to by the allegiance which you have sworn to me; and I will take care to make good my promise in as ample a manner as you can expect. The Prince and the nobles that were with him, being astonished at this speech of the Emperour, and considering with themselves what answer to make; for they thought it hard, that a city that had been won with the loss of so much blood of the Latine princes, and which commands such large territories, should be put into the hands of the effeminate Greeks; but that it was in the agreement between the Emperour and the Prince, no one doubted: and besides, the Emperour had brought so many of his soldiers into the town, that it was no easy matter to drive them out by force. Things being therefore in these straits, and as they were considering what answer to make, Count Josceline stands up, and makes this answer to the Emperour: The speech that your Imperial Majesty has made favours of divine eloquence, and is worthy of all acceptance, in as much as it tends towards the advantage and profit of us all; but it being a new thing which your Imperial Majesty has proposed, it needs new counsels and deliberation; neither is it in the power of the Prince of Antioch alone to put this in execution; but he ought to take the advice of his subjects, which way he may best bring to effect what your majesty does require, left, by the tumult and insurrection of the people, there may be a stop put to what your majesty demands. The Emperor being pleased with this speech of the Count, gave the Prince and nobles some time to consider of it; and the Count of Edessa went home to his house that he had in the city, but the Prince staid in the palace, haying no command of his own city, but the Emperour commanded in chief.

As soon as the Count was got home, he sends privately about messengers to acquaint the people with the demands of the Emperour, and to perswade the people to take up arms: immediately there was an insurrection, and a great tumult all Oyer the city: the Count hearing of it takes his horse, and makes all the haste he could to the palace, as if he avoided the fury of the people, and rusheth into the Emperour's presence, as it were half-dead +or fear. The Emperour being astonished at the sudden coming of the Count, asks of him, what was the reason that he came into his presence after such an unusual manner? The Count made answer, that necessity hath no law, and if he was forced to fly thither to save himself from the fury of the people. The Emperour desired to know the reason of this tumult; the Count made answer, that a little time after he had been in his house, a great multitude of people came to his door with swords and other weapons, such as they could get, and began to call him bloody man, and betrayer of his country; and they were resolved to have Count Josceline delivered up to them, as one that would have sold his country for a sum of money; and they breaking open the door, he escaped from them with great difficulty. In the mean time there was a great noise through the whole city, and a rumour spread abroad, that the city was betrayed to the Grecians, and that the castle was already delivered up into their hands, and that the inhabitants were to leave their old habitations\$ and to be carried into a strange land: and the people being very much incensed, whomsoever of the Emperour's servants they met, they tumbled them off their horses, robbed them, and beat them and if any of them resisted, they killed them with swords, and pursued those that fled from them home to the Emperour's Palace. The Emperour being very much moved at the tumult of

the people, and the cry of his own servants that fled from their fury, orders the Prince, the Count, and the other nobles to be sent for, and concealing his anger for a while, lest the people should attempt something against his own person, says to them, I find, that the discourse that I had with you yesterday has occasioned great offence to the people; I have sent for you therefore to let you know, that seeing what I proposed is so unacceptable to the people, that I do not insist upon it: keep the city and the castle in your own possession I know you are my faithful subjects, and that you will always continue firm in your allegiance to me; I would have you go out therefore and quiet the people; and if my staying in the town creates a jealousy to them, let them not be troubled at that, for tomorrow, GOD willing, I will go out of the city. The Emperour having said this, they all praise the design of the Emperour, and extol to the skies his great prudence and wisdom. The Prince, the Count, and the other nobles went out to the people, and by their speech and motion of their hands they endeavoured to quiet the multitude at length silence being made, they perswade them all to go to their own houses and laying aside their arms to live quietly, which they did accordingly. The next day the Emperour with his sons and all his retinue went out of the town, and the Emperour commands them to pitch their camp before the town; but the graver amongst the people thought that the Emperour had conceived a displeasure against the Prince, and the leading men of the city, although for the present he concealed it, as if by their perswasions the people had made this insurrection in the city, they depute therefore certain persons to go to the Emperour, and to endeavour to clear the Prince from having any hand in the insurrection and being admitted into the Emperour's presence, they speak to him to this effect: Your Imperial Majesty knows much better than we, that in every assembly of men, much more in cities and other societies, all are not endued with like prudence, neither are all equally under command; and as the humours and inclinations of persons in a society are different, so there will be different designs carried on: it is the point therefore of a wise man in so great a variety to distinguish one from another, and to give to every one according to his deserts; and not to let the inconsiderate heat of the vain multitude redound to the damage of those that are better affected. Seeing therefore the angry multitude have made this insurrection without the knowledge of the Prince, those that have command under him, let them suffer the punishment due to their deserts, and not the Prince and his nobles, who were altogether innocent; and for a testimony of his innocency in this matter, the Prince is ready to make good his agreement, and if he may have liberty, to deliver up the castle into the Emperour's hands. The Emperour being perswaded by this speech, lays aside all jealousy of the Prince, the Count and the rest, speaks to them very kindly, and tells them, that very urgent business did require his presence at home; and having taken his leave of them, and while promising them that he would return with a great army, to make good his agreement, he marches his army into Cilicia, and having finished his business in Cilicia and Syria, he returns to Constantinople.

CHAPTER II.

Much about this time there arose a great difference between the Prince of Antioch and the Patriarch; and it came to that height, that the Prince forced him to go to Rome, and there to answer many accusations laid to his charge whereupon Albericus Arch-Bishop of Ostia was sent into Syria, as the Pope's Legate, to examine matters, and to proceed with the Patriarch, as things should be found alledged and proved: but in the beginning of the quarrel, Count Josceline, partly out of hatred to the Prince, and partly out of respect to the Patriarch, sends messengers to the Patriarch, and earnestly invites him to come, with all his retinue, into his country; for all the bishops of the County of Edessa favoured the cause of the Patriarch, and counted him as their lord and father, viz, the Arch-Bishop of Edessa, the Arch-Bishop of Coritium, and the Arch-Bishop of Hieropolis: at their request therefore he goes into that country; and the Count himself, according to what he had promised entertains him very respectfully, and there he staid, 'till by the intercession of friends the Prince took him, but not really and from his heart, as appeared afterwards, into favour again.

Some time after, the Pope's legate, having deposed the Patriarch, and finished the business at Antioch that he came for, returned to Jerusalem; and there staying 'till Easter, on Wednesday in Easter-week, accompanied with the Patriarch of Jerusalem and other bishops, he solemnly consecrated the Temple of our Lord: There were present at this dedication many great and noble men from all parts, amongst the rest Josceline Count of Edessa, who at that time kept his Easter at Jerusalem in a very pompous and magnificent manner,

After the Emperour of Constantinople had staid almost four years at Constantinople, having provided a great army, and being often desired by messengers from the Prince of Antioch, and the nobles to come into Syria, he marches towards Antioch; and having passed through Isauria, he came into Cilicia, and from thence of a sudden he marched into the country of the Count of Edessa, and sat down before Turbessel, which is a very rich city, distant from the River Euphrates about four and twenty miles: to which place, as soon as the Emperour came, he demanded hostages of the Count for his fidelity the Count being astonished at the sudden coming of the Emperour, and seeing the great army that he had, and finding it was impossible for him to make head against such an Army, which no Prince under heaven was able to encounter, making a virtue of necessity, he gave to the Emperour Isabella one of his daughters for an hostage, The Emperour having got his design, which was only to get the Count more firmly united to his interest, drew off his troops, and departed; and whilst he was in that country, he was accidentally poisoned by one of his own arrows, which he intended for a wild boar; for as he drew it to the head, it grated on his hand, and immediately his hand gangreened: and when his physicians told him it was necessary for him to have his hand cut off, to save his life, he refused to have it done, saying, that an Emperour ought to have both hands to govern. The Emperour's name was Calo-Johannes; he was the Son of Alexius; he was a great and wise Emperour; he had good success against the Turks, from whom

he took Laodicea, and some other towns of importance; he also vanquished the Scythians or Tartars passing over the Ister, most of which he either slew in battle, or else sold as captives, permitting the remainder to abide on this side that river: he also conquered the Servians and Bulgarians, transporting many of them in Bithynia. His father Alexius was very jealous of the designs of the western Christians, and therefore at first he denied them passage through his country, but at last he let them pass, and found them victuals and other necessities for their march; and, upon this, the western Christians might promise him, if they did succeed, to deliver Antioch, and the other towns that his son afterward claimed, into his hands.

Much about the same time, Foulk King of Jerusalem died by a like unhappy accident; for as he was hunting he fell from his horse, and had his brains dashed out; to him succeeded Baldwin his eldest son; but whilst he was in his minority his mother Mellisent had the government of the kingdom. This Foulk was third Count of Anjou of that name, and uncle to Geofery the Fifth, surnamed Plantagenet, father of Henry the Second, King of England, by his wife Maud the Empress, daughter of King Henry the First. Foulk, King of Jerusalem had two sons by his wife Mellisent, daughter of Baldwin and Almeric, who were after him successively Kings of Jerusalem.

And in the same year, in the interval between King Foulk's death and the crowning of his son Baldwin, Sanquin, a mighty prince among the Turks, and lord of the city, which was of old called Nineveh, but then Musula, and the metropolis of that country which was heretofore called Assur, came with a great army, and besieged the great metropolis of the Medes, Edessa otherwise, and more usually called Rages, the chief town that did belong to Count Josceline: he presumed partly upon the number and strength of his forces, and partly upon the enmity that was between Count Josceline and the prince of Antioch. This city was situated on the other side of Euphrates, distant from it about a day's journey. Now Count Josceline, contrary to the custom of his predecessors, left that city, and kept his continual residence at Turbessel, a city on this side the River Euphrates, both upon account of the pleasantness of the country, and that he might the better enjoy his ease; for whilst he was here, being free from the insults of the enemy, he enjoyed his pleasure; neither did he take that great care of such a city as he ought; for the city at that time was filled for the most part with Chaldeans and Armenians, who only lived there for the sake of merchandise, and were altogether ignorant of the art of war; there were very few Latines amongst them, but the garrison was filled with soldiers that were hired from other countries, and those not very well paid; for sometimes they were a whole year's pay or more behind: but both Baldwin and Count Josceline the Elder, his predecessors, after they had got possession of that country, kept always their residence in that city, always getting great plenty of provisions and a great number of soldiers from other places; so that it had not only what was necessary for its own defence, but was also formidable to the neighbouring cities,

There was at this time, as we have hinted before, great feuds between the Prince of Antioch and Count Josceline, and they came to that height, that they were not only carried on in secret, but it came to open and professed hatred; so that one was so far from having any concern at the other's calamity, that they rejoiced at one another's misfortunes. Sanguin taking the opportunity which was given him from this discord of the princes,

with the army that he brought with him from the East, and the forces gathered out of the Turkish garrisons that did lie round about, besieges the town so closely, that there was no one able to go in or out, and the besieged had but little provisions in the town. The city was surrounded with a strong wall, and at the lower end of the town there were two strong castles, which the besieged might fly unto, in case the town should be taken: but as all these things are very useful, when there are those within that will fight for their liberty, and defend themselves against the enemy, so do they signify but little when there are none to defend them. The enemy then finding the city almost empty of soldiers, and from thence conceiving greater hopes of taking the town, encompass it round with their army, and they batter the walls with their engines, and by their continual shooting of their arrows, they so galled the besieged, that they would not let them rest, In the mean time, the news of Edessa's being besieged was spread all over the country, and that this famous city, which from the Apostles time had been always Christian, was reduced to great straits by the Infidels; at the news of which the Christians both far and near were very much concerned; and Count Josceline, as soon as he heard of it, gathered all the forces he could together, and being mindful too late of his famous city, he does but now as it were prepare for the funeral of that, which when it was sick he would not take due care of; he sends about to all the country, and solicits help from his friends; and particularly he sends messengers to the Prince of Antioch, desiring him that he would come and assist him, and prevent the city's falling into the hands of the Turks. Messengers were likewise sent to Jerusalem, to certify the King of the great straits the city was reduced to. The Queen, who had the command of the kingdom during the King's minority, taking advice of her nobles, hastens away with all speed Manasses, the constable of the kingdom, her kinsman, Philip Lord of Neapolis, and Elimund Prince of Tiberias, with a good body of men, to the assistance of the Count and the city: but the Prince of Antioch rejoycing at the misfortune which had befallen the Count, not much minding so much he owed to the publick good, and that a personal quarrel ought not to redound to the publick damage, takes all opportunities to defer sending any assistance to the Count. But Sanquin in the mean time presses the besieged very much, and leaves nothing unattempted by which he may gall the besieged, and which might contribute towards the taking of the town; he orders therefore the miners to work close to the wall, and the ground as they went to be supported with great beams, which being set on fire, part of the wall fell down, and there was a breach made in it of above one hundred cubits breadth. The enemy having to this passage, the soldiers rush into the town in great numbers, and kill all that they meet, not regarding either age, condition, or sex: So that it may be said of them (says the Arch-Bishop of Tyre) they killed the widow and the stranger, and put the fatherless to death, young men with the maidens, the sucking child with the man of grey hairs. The city being taken, and the citizens being most of them exposed to the sword of the enemy, the wiser of them, those that were most active, betook themselves, with their wives and children, into the castles, that they might save their lives, at least for a little time longer; but there was such a great throng, by the great numbers of the people pressing into the castle, that a great many were trod to death, amongst whom was Hugh the Arch-Bishop of the place; and some other of the clergy are said to have perished the same way. Some that were present laid

most of the blame of this great calamity upon the Arch-Bishop; for he having, as it is said, heaped up a great quantity of money, and by bestowing some of it upon the soldiers might have helped the city, chose rather covetously to keep it by him, than consult the good of the people; from whence it came to pass, that he received the reward of his covetousness, and died an obscure death, being trod to death in the crowd; so whilst the Prince of Antioch, being overcome by an indiscreet hatred towards the Count, defers sending aid to his brethren; and whilst the Count was staying for the assistance of others, this most ancient city, which from the times of the Apostles had been devoted to Christianity, and which was converted from paganism by the preaching of the apostle Thaddeus, and of Agbarus the King, are said to be buried. This is that Agbarus (saith the Arch-Bishop of Tyre) whose epistle to our saviour Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical History does make mention of, and which our saviour thought worthy of an answer: Eusebius sets down in his history both the letters; and subjoins, These were found in the city of Edessa, (in which the above said Agbarus then reigned) amongst those papers which did contain the deed of Agbarus the King.

Eusebius saith, that he translated them out of the Syrian language into the Greek; but whether these Epistles were genuine or not, most certain it is, that Nicephorus, a later historian, relates a fabulous story of this King Agbarus; and saith, that Agbarus together with his letter sent a painter to take the picture of our saviour; the painter, by reason of the extraordinary brightness of his face, could not draw his picture as he would, whereupon our savior took a handkerchief and laid it upon his face, and presently his picture was imprinted upon it, and he sent it to Agbarus. And this Necephorus saith also, that the city of Edessa being besieged in the time of the Emperour Justinian, the inhabitants were brought into so great straits, that they had little or no hopes to be delivered, they ran to this picture for help, and upon that were wonderfully preserved.

CHAPTER III.

Sanquin having taken the city of Edessa, and being exalted with this good success, undertakes the siege of another city, seated on the banks of the River Euphrates, named Calogenbar; and whilst he was carrying on the siege, the governour of the place treated under-hand with certain of his eunuchs, and others of his family, and promised them a great reward if they would kill their master Sanquin; whereupon, one night Sanquin having drank very hard, and being fast asleep, they killed him with their swords, and fled to the city, and were there preserved from the fury of Sanquin's relations. Sanquin's army finding their master slain, fled away with great precipitation. To Sanquin succeeded his two sons, the eldest called Colebin at Mussula, heretofore called Nineveh in the East; the younger named Noradin at Aleppo, which Noradin was a provident and discreet man, and very religious in his way, prosperous also, and enlarged the territories of his father.

Sanguin being dead, a great enemy to the Christians, and Noradin being detained at Mussula, upon a controversy about the succession, the citizens of Edessa, perceiving there were but few Turks left in the city to defend the garrison, and that all the rest were Christians, they privately send messengers to Count Josceline, signifying, that the town was empty of Turks, excepting a few in garrison; for the citizens of the city, as was said before, were Christians from the time of the Apostles, and very seldom one of any other persuasion lived among them; they send therefore to Count Josceline, and desire with great earnestness, that he would gather all the forces he could together, and hasten to the town, and they would deliver it up into his hands. The Count upon this, takes with him Baldwin de Mares, a valiant nobleman, and all the forces of the country, and passing over the River Euphrates, he comes on a sudden in the night-time before the town, where being come, the citizens (those being asleep that were to guard the town) by ladders and ropes being let down from the wall, let some of them into the town, and when they were in they opened the gates for the rest, which being opened, they all rush into the town, and killed as many of the enemy as they found in the streets, but some of them fled to the castle. Thus the Count with the Christian army which was with him took the town in a little time; but the castles they could not so soon take, because they were very well fortified and well stored with men and provisions especially because they wanted engines, neither had they materials to make them withal: messengers therefore are sent, which might certify the Christians in all parts of this good success, and to beg aid of them, that the city, which GOD Almighty favouring them they had taken, they might be able to defend and for the future preserve safe to the Christians. At this good news, the Christians every where were very glad; and as their sorrow was great at the taking of the city by the Turks, their joy was as great at the recovery; but this extraordinary joy was in a little time turned into mourning, and their last sorrow was greater than their former; for Noradin, as soon as he had heard that the citizens had delivered up the city to the Count, gathers all the forces he could from the East, and from all the garrison round about Edessa, and on a sudden encompasses the town with his army; so that without was the sword, within was fear; for the enemy would not permit any to go out, and it was certain death for any to attempt it, and the enemies forces that were in the castle continually affrighted them, and harrassed them with their sallies.

The Christians, in the midst of all these troubles, not knowing what to do, deliberate with themselves, and often change their counsels but they find what course soever they shall take, it will be to the great hazard of their live: at length, considering the condition of the place, they all conclude it best, although to the hazard of their lives, to make a general sally; for they thought it better fight the enemy, and to make a way open with their swords, than to endure a siege, in which, if the town be taken, they shall be all slain; or, if for want of provisions they should be forced to surrender, they should undergo a slavery worse than death; they all agree therefore to rush out of the town, and although it was very dangerous, yet they thought it better than any other way that they could they take. The citizens hearing of this design of the soldiers, by whose help the Count got into the town, and being afraid, that if they staid behind in the city, they should be put to a cruel death, because they were the first promoters of the designs taking their wives, and their children, they chuse rather to try their fortune with their brethren, and to

rush with the soldiers out of the town, than to undergo most certain death, or to undergo slavery worse than death; they open the gates therefore, and all endeavour to rush out of the city; and although they must make their way through the enemies camp with their swords, yet this they counted but a light thing, in comparison of any other.

In the mean time, some of the enemy being let into the town by those that were in the castles, they press upon the back of the Christians, and whilst the enemy that was without, hearing that some of their men were fighting with the Christians in the town, endeavoured to get to their help, they seize on the gate that the Christians had opened, and the enemy coming to the gate in great numbers, they endeavour to hinder the going out of the Christians, and at the same time endeavour themselves to get in; and by this there happened a sharp fight, as much as the narrowness of the place would admit, very destructive on both sides; at length those that were within pressing hard upon the Christians, and the danger adding strength and courage to them, they force a way out of the city, the enemy without opposing it all they could, not without a great slaughter on both sides, and they got into the open fields; then there was a miserable spectacle to behold, and dismal to relate; a great number of people unable to help themselves, of all ages and qualities, some trod to death by the horses, others slain by the sword of the enemy; and but a few escaping of all the citizens that endeavoured to follow the Christian army; those only, who by reason of their strength, or by the help of horses which they got, were able to keep up with the army. Noradin seeing that the Christian army was endeavoring to march off, orders some of his army immediately to follow, and prepares to follow with the rest of his army, and in their march he galls the Christians much by continual skirmishes. The Christian army marched on towards the River Euphrates, which was distant from the city Edessa about fourteen miles; in all which way there were continual skirmishes between the Count and the enemy, in which there were many killed on both sides. In this march died that noble and valiant soldier, which we mentioned before, Baldwin de Mares. There fell also a great many other famous men, whose names are forgot. At length the Count, being overpowered by the enemy, most of his army running away, not being able to bear the continual assaults of the enemy, endeavoured to save himself by flight, and getting over the River Euphrates, he arrived safe at Samosatum; the rest, some running one way, some another, throwing away their baggage, endeavoured to save their lives. The rumour of this was spread throughout the country, and those that before rejoiced at the re-taking of Edessa, were now made much more sorry at the news of the sudden loss of its and of the miserable slaughter of the Christians.

CHAPTER IV.

The loss of the city of Edessa brought on the second Crusade, which was undertaken by Conrade Emperour of the West, and Lewis the Seventh, surnamed the Young, King of France; Pope Eugenius the Third bestirred himself in the matter, and made Saint Bernard his sollicitor to advance the design.

The Emperour's army contained two hundred thousand foot, besides fifty thousand horse; and King Lewis's was not much inferiour in number. The Emperour Conrade with his army took his way through Greece, and by the treachery of Emanuel the Grecian Emperour, he lost the greatest part of his army before he arrived at the Holy Land, King Lewis departed from Paris May 15, 1147, and Eleanor his Queen with him, and he was followed by all the great men in the realm, amongst the principal of who, (whose names are set down by Sugerius Abbot of St. Dennis, who was governour of the kingdom in the King's absence) were Peter the King's brother, who afterwards married Elizabeth daughter of Reginald de Courtenay, and William de Courtenay, and Reginald de Courtenay, whom we shall have occasion to speak of hereafter. The King of France suffered likewise by the treachery of Emanuel Emperour of Constantinople, although not so much as Conrade the Emperour; and finding by the Germans great loss that it was dangerous marching his army through the continent, he took shipping at Attocia, situate on a bay upon the coast of Pamhylia, and arrived safe in Palestine, where he was highly welcomed by Raimond Prince of Antioch. Some weeks were spent in compliments, entertainments, and visiting holy places; and after the Emperour and the King of France had sufficiently recreated themselves and their armies, they concluded to besiege Damascus, which being as it were in the center of the four principalities which the Christians held in the East, might be equally dangerous to them alls upon this, all the troops were commanded to rendezvous the 25th of May at Tiberias, where a general review being made of the army, they advanced to Paneas, near the head of Jordan, the patriarch carrying the true cross, or at least that which was believed to be so, before them, This city had been taken from the Sarazens by the Turks, whose Sultan Dodequin made a most cruel war against the Christians. Between the time of the first and second crusade, after his death, his successors being themselves attacked by Sanquin, Sultan of Aleppo and Niniveh, who endeavoured the conquest of all Syria, joined themselves with the Christian princes to make war against this common enemy; they assisted them in taking Paneas, which they had taken from the Christians before, and Sanquin from them again. But there being but little faith to be expected from Infidels, they soon broke the peace, and declared themselves as before, the mortal enemies of the Christians: for this reason it was, that the resolution was fixed to attack them; and above all things to carry this city Damascus, which was in a condition to give check to the four Christian principalities of the East. Hereupon it was resolved to attack the town on the sides where the gardens were; for the north, and a great part of the west was covered with a prodigious number of gardens and orchards producing all manner of fruits, the most delicious of all the East. The army being therefore divided into three bodies marched in good order towards Damascus, drawing from the

west towards the north to the garden-quarter of the city. The young King of Jerusalem; Baldwin the Third, commanded in person the first body, composed of his own troops, and those of the Princes of Syria: the French made the second, having at their head King Lewis to support the first, which they followed at a little distance to be always ready to afford them succour. The Emperour with his Germans led the rear to oppose the enemy's cavalry, if they should attempt to fall upon them at they made their approaches. Thus the Christians having made their approaches, and having gained all the enemy's out-works in the gardens and orchards, and the town being in danger to be taken, some of the Syrians in the army, who did not like the Conrade Count of Flanders should have the town, (being a stranger) as the Emperour and the French King had designed; others say, that they were corrupted by the infidels money; whatever was the reason; treacherously perswaded the Emperour and the French King to change their attacks, and to attempt the attacking of the town on the other side; which advice they followed, as thinking the Syrians knew best the state of the place but the French and Germans soon perceiving it was ill advice, and that they were ignominiously betrayed by those very people, for whose assistance they had undertaken so tedious a voyage\$ raised the siege, and returned to Jerusalem, openly reproaching the Syrians with their detestable treachery. After this, the siege of Ascalon was proposed in a general assembly; for it was urged that something of importance ought to be undertaken, and that so brave an army ought not to return without performing something memorable yet the great lords, both French and Germans stiffly and resolutely opposed it; protesting openly, that they would never trust such a sort of peoples who had neither conscience nor honour, but, contrary to their faith, would for a little money sell their Christian brethren, whom with earnest solicitations they had brought so far to their assistance, and betray's them into the hands of infidels, against who they pretended to fight. The Emperour Conrade therefore taking his leave of the young King Baldwin, who "as altogether innocent, and abominated the treason of the confederates, re-imbarked upon the ships of his brother-in-law the Emperour of Constantinople, and sailed into Achaia, and from thence, by the Adriatick Sea, he landed upon the territories of the Venetians, and so returned into Germany. As for Lewis the French King, he staid 'till after Easter, both to pay his devotions, and to see whether his longer stay would be any way serviceable to the Christians; but finding that the Count de Dreux his brother, Reginald de Courtenay, and most of the other lords and great men were gone home, he resolves also to return into his own kingdom; and taking shipping in the port of Ptolemais, he arrived upon the 29th of July, 1149, at Calabria, and from thence to Rome, and so into his own kingdom, bringing nothing with him, after so long a voyage, besides the regret to have lost one of the finest armies that ever was raised in France\$ without doing any thing worthy of consideration.

As soon as the Emperour and the King of France were gone, Noradin getting together a great number of Turks, began more violently than ever to spoil and waste the country of Antioch; and finding the western Princes were returned home, he undertakes the siege of a garrison belonging to the Prince of Antioch, called Nepa; which, as the Prince heard of, not staying for his horse, he hastens with some few foot to the relief of the place. Noradin, hearing of the Prince's coming and fearing left more

forces were coming to his assistance, draws off from the town, and encamps his army in a strong place, waiting to see what forces the Prince had with him, The Prince bring elated with this drawing-off of Noradin, presumed too much upon it; and whereas he might have put his forces into neighbouring garrisons, he chose rather to keep the field. Noradin finding that no assistance came to the Prince, in the night surrounded his army# and in the morning the Prince perceiving what great danger he was in, put his soldiers in order of battle, but they being much inferior to the enemy, were soon overpowered, and put to flight; and the Prince himself fighting stoutly in the midst of the enemy was slain, and, amongst other great men, Rinaldus de Mares, a great and courageous man, as the Arch-Bishop of Tyre says, and one much to be lamented by his country, to whom the Count of Edessa had given his elder daughter in marriage.

The Sultan of Iconium hearing of the death of the Prince of Antioch, marches with a great army into Syria, and having taken many cities and castles, he at last besieged Turbessel, where Count Josceline was with his wife and children. The King in the mean time sends Humphry the constable of Jerusalem with some soldiers to strengthen Hasart, a neighbouring garrison at length the Count having delivered up all the prisoners he had which did belong to the Sultan, and having presented the Sultan with arms for twelve horseman, had his town delivered from the siege, and the same day he went to Hasart, and from thence to Antioch, where the King then was, to return him thanks for his favours; and having seen the King, and taken his leave of him, he returned with the small retinue which he had with him, into his own country; and the King having taken all due care of the Principality of Antioch, which was then destitute of a Prince, his own affairs calling him home, returned to his own country.

In the mean time, Count Josceline living carelessly and degenerating from his father's vigilance and courage, minding but little besides his pleasure, and thinking all was well with him, because his enemy the Prince of Antioch was dead, as he was going by night to Antioch, being desired to come there by the Patriarch, left his guard, and stepped aside with his page, who held his horse, as it is said, to ease nature; but those that went before, and those that followed after, not knowing any thing of it, he was seized upon by some thieves that laid in wait for him, and being put in chains was carried to Aleppo, and after some time imprisonment, through the unwholsomness of the prison, and vexation of spirit, he died. When it was day, those that were of his retinue, enquiring after their master, and not finding him return home, declare what had happened whereupon the whole country was filled with astonishment, and those that did not know how to grieve at the affliction of their neighbours the Antiochians, had now their own troubles came upon them; at length, after some days it was known that he was carried prisoner to Aleppo. His Countess, a modest sober woman, with her son and two daughters, staid in the city of Turbessel, and endeavoured as well as she could, by the help of the nobility, to govern the country, and to fortify the towns and castles of the country, and to supply them with men and provisions, that they might be able to defend themselves against the enemy. Thus both these provinces, the principality of Antioch and country of Edessa, wanting better counsels, being hardly able to defend themselves against the enemy, were under the command of women. This

Josceline de Courtenay, second Count of Edessa of that name, was son to Count Josceline the Elder, by his wife that was sister to Levon, an Armenian: he was of short stature, but pretty full, very strong; he had black hair, a swarthy complexion, and a large face much disfigured with the small pox, full eyes, and a large nose; he was very liberal, and famous for warlike actions, but overmuch given to his pleasure; his wife was Beatrix the widow of William de Saona, by whom he had one son Josceline, the third Count of Edessa of that name, and two daughters, Isabel who died young, and Agnes, who was first the wife of Rainald de Mares, afterward of Almeric, who was Count of Joppa, and afterward King of Jerusalem, of whom was born Baldwin the Sixth King of Jerusalem, and Sybilla that Queen after him.

B O O K III.

CHAPTER 1.

As soon as the news came to Jerusalem, that the Count of Edessa was taken prisoner, the King considering that both that country and the principality of Antioch laid open to the incursions of the enemy, taking with him Humphry the Constable, and Guy of Berytum, he went into the County of Tripoly, and taking with him the Count and all his soldiers, he hastened to Antioch; for it was reported that the Sultan of Iconium with a great number of horse was got into that country, and had seized upon all the country that did lie next to his; for the inhabitants, not being able to make any resistance, surrendered up all the towns and castle upon condition, that they, their wives and children might have leave to depart, and might be conducted safe to Turbessel; for that city being the strongest in all that country, seemed to be freest from any disturbance. But the Sultan of Iconium having seized upon all the country, except some few towns, was forced to return home, some urgent affairs requiring his presence; but the fears and troubles of the people of Antioch were not much diminished; for Noradin, a great enemy to the Christians, so disturbed the country by his continual incursions, that scarce any one appeared without the garrisons; so that by those two potent enemies the people were most miserably harrassed.

In the mean time, the Emperour of Constantinople hearing of the calamity of this country, sends one of his Princes with great riches, a great quantity of provisions, and a considerable army, into the country of Edessa; and offered to the Countess an annual pension for her and her children, which should be enough to maintain them according to their quality, if she would deliver up the garrisons that yet remained in her hands; for the Emperour promised himself, that by his great riches and great number of forces he should be able to defend the places that yet remained against the Turks, and recover those that were lost. The King hearing of the coming of these messengers from the Emperour, and the design of their coming being known, there arose a great dissention amongst the nobility of that country; some saying that things were not yet come to that pass; others saying, that it was necessary to be done, otherwise the whole country would fall into the enemy's hands. But the King considering that country could no long continue in that state in which it was; for that the

the affairs of his own kingdom would not let him make any longer stay there, neither were his forces so great that he could defend two provinces that were distant from him above fifteen days journey; he agrees, that the County of Edessa should be delivered to the Greeks upon the conditions they offered; and although he did not much presume that it could be preserved long by the Greeks, yet he had rather it should fall into the enemy's hands whilst it was in their possession, than that the ruin of the country should be imputed to him. An agreement being therefore made between the King, and the Emperour's ambassadors, with the consent of the Countess and her children, they appoint a day, in which the King with all his militia should go into the country, and put the Emperour's men in possession of the country, and deliver up all the garrisons to them. The King therefore, according to the agreement, taking with him the Count of Tripoli, and his own lords, with those of the principality of Antioch, goes with them into the country of the Count of Edessa, taking with him the Greeks, and came to Turbessel, and there taking with him the Countess and her children, and all the Latines and Armenians of both sexes, that were willing to go with him; he resigns up the county to the Greeks; the towns that were then in the possession of the Countess, were Turbessel, Hamtah, Ravendel, Ramulat, Bile, Samosatun, and some others; which being all put into the hands of the Grecians, the King with all those that were willing to go with him, they, their wives and their children, prepare for the journey; and the King willing to see them safe, hastens them away with a vast quantity of carriages, for they carried all their household goods with them.

But Noradin, as soon as he heard that the King was gone into the country to carry away the people, and that the Latines despairing of preserving the country, had resigned up to the soft and effeminate Greeks, gathering all the forces he could together hastens towards those parts, hoping to meet with the King; and by reason of the great number of unarmed people, and the great carriages he had with him, to have a great advantage over him. And scarcely had the Christians got to Tulupa, which is not above five or six miles distant from Turbessel, before Noradin had filled almost all the whole country with soldiers, Near to Tulupa there was the Castle Hamtah, through which the Christians were to march; and they willing to get there as soon as they could, being a well-fortified place, drew out their army in order of battle, as if they would fight the enemy; which Noradin perceiving expected their coming, and thought he had got them all in his hands; but it so happened that they got all safe to Trubessel, where they refreshed themselves and their horses; where the King calling a council to deliberate concerning their march the next day, some of the nobles desired that the castle might be given to them, thinking that they were able to defend it against all the power of the Turks; amongst whom were Humphry de Toron Constable of Jerusalem, and another nobleman of the Principality of Antioch, named Robert de Surdavalles. But the King knowing that they had not strength enough to defend it, denied them their request, and delivering up the castle to the Greeks, he orders all to prepare for their march. Here you might see, says the Arch-bishop of Tyre, noble matrons with their children, with cries and tears leaving their native country, with their houses and lands, and sorrowfully going into a strange land: it would have melted a stoney heart to have heard the cries of this miserable people, thus leaving the country of their fathers, and going to another people,

As soon then as it was day, having got their carriages ready, they begin their journey, and the enemy came down toward them, marching on at some distance on both sides of them, being ready to rush in upon them. The Christians seeing that, put the five hundred horse which they had with them in order of battle, and they desire the King to march on before, and to lead on the foot with the unarmed multitude. The Count of Tripoly and the constable of Jerusalem, with the best of the soldiers, brought up the rear, to defend the rest against the insults of the enemy: the nobles of Antioch are placed on the right side and on the left, to defend the multitude on every way. In this order they marched all the day 'till sunset, and they endured very much by the continual insults of the enemy; and there was such a vast number of arrows shot from the enemy, that all the baggage was stuck full of them, and they seemed to be a great heath; and besides, the dust and the extraordinary heat (it being in August) and extraordinary thirst, very much troubled the people. At length about the sunset, the Turks having no provisions with them, and having lost some of their men, give the signal for a retreat, admiring at the invincible patience and courage of the Christians. And whilst the constable of Jerusalem followed the enemy in their retreat, there came towards him a soldier out of the enemy's army, and laying down his arms made towards him with his hands folded, and bowing as he went: he was the servant of a great man among the Turks, that was a great friend of the constable; him had this great man sent to the constable, to inform him of the design of the Turkish army; that Noradin had a design to march home, his provisions failing him, so that he could not follow the Christians any longer. The constable returns to the camp, and acquaints the King with what he had heard. That night they pitched their camp in a place called Joha; the following days all the people being led without any molestation through the wood called Marris home to the borders of Antioch, and the King repaired immediately to Antioch. Noradin finding that the county of Edessa was left destitute of the Latines, and presuming upon the effeminateness and softness of the Greeks, to whom the defence of the country was committed, began to harrass the country by frequent incursions, which the Greeks were not able to repel; at last besieging their towns, within a year he drove out the Greeks, and seized upon the whole country. Thus that rich province, abounding in rivers, woods, and pleasant pastures, of a rich soil, and full of all sorts of commodities, able to maintain five hundred horse, came into the hands of the enemy, and was never recovered after. There fell off by this from the Church of Antioch three Arch-Bishopricks, viz. that of Edessa, Hierapolis, and Coritium, which to this day are over-spread with Mahometan superstition.

CHAPTER II.

Sometime after the Countess of Edessa arrived with her children at Jerusalem, Almerick the King's brother married Agnes her daughter by whom in his brother's lifetime he had two children, Baldwin, to whom the King was God-father, and Sibylla, successively King and Queen of Jerusalem. When Almerick came to be King he was forced to be divorced from his wife; for when he married her, the Patriarch of Jerusalem was against it, because, as he said, they were in the fourth degree of consanguinity, as afterwards it was solemnly proved in the face of the Church by those that were kin to them bathe for in the presence of the King, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and the Pope's legate, their kindred haying sworn that it was so, as we have said, the marriage was dissolved but nevertheless it was adjudged, that the children which were born of them should be esteemed as legitimate, and should succeed to their father's inheritance. I made diligent enquiry afterward, saith William Arch-Bishop of Tyre, in what degree of consanguinity they were; for I was beyond-sea, saith he, studying the liberal arts when this happened at Jerusalem; And I learnt from the Lady Stephanie Courtenay, Abbess of the Church called Great St. Maries, which is at Jerusalem before the Sepulchre of our Lord, who was the daughter of Josceline the Elder, Count of Edessa, by the sister of Roger son of Richard Prince of Antioch, a noble and religious woman, and at that time of a considerable age, but very well remembring how it was; I learnt from her, that there descent was thus: Baldwin de Burgo, or of Bruges and Count Josceline the Elder, were the sons of two sisters; of Baldwin was born Melisende the Queen; of Melisende were born Baldwin the Third and Almerick, successively Kings of Jerusalem; and of Count Josceline the Elder was born Count Josceline the Second, of whom was born Agnes the wife of Almerick, and Josceline the third Count of Edessa of that name, and afterwards the King's steward.

Sometime after this divorcee King Almerick continuing unmarried, Agnes that was his wife before, was married to a nobleman, called Hugh de Ibelim, and he dying before her, she married (King Almerick being still alive) Rainald Prince of Sidon, who was nearer related to her than the King was.

In the year 1165, being the second of the reign of King Almerick, Noradin haying gathered a great army together, besieged a town of the Christians in the borders of Antioch, called Harenc, which as soon as it was known to the Princes, to Boemund the Third Prince of Antioch, the Count of Tripoly, and Josceline the Third Count of Edessa, and many other nobles, they getting together what number of horse and foot they could, hastened to raise the siege. Noradin having called a council of war, thought it best to raise the siege, followed after Noradin as he was marching home; but Noradin perceiving that they marched very carelessly, and a great many of them wandered up and down in the country, came upon them on a sudden, and surprised some of them as they were marching in a narrow way, and put the whole army to flight; and a great many nobles laying down their arms, begged of the enemy their lives: but Toros, an Armenian Prince, finding that the enemy prevailed, saved himself by flight: he indeed dissuaded them from following the enemy, but could

could not be heard. In this fight were taken and carried captive Aleppo, Boemund Prince of Antioch, Raimond Count of Tripoly, Calamannus the Governour of Cilicia, Hugh of Lusignan, Josceline Count of Edessa, and many other nobles.

King Almerick having reigned full eleven years, died of a bloody flux, leaving two children by Agnes de Courtenay his first wife, Baldwin and Sibylla, and by Mary his second wife, daughter to John Protosebastus, a Grecian Prince, one daughter named Isabell, married afterwards to Humphry the Third, Prince of Toron.

Baldwin the Fourth succeeded his father Almerick in the kingdom; He was a stout valiant prince, but unhappily troubled with the leprosy, which made it difficult for him to govern the kingdom, which at that time was in a tottering condition however he got many advantages over the Turks, till at last he was so weakened by his disease, that he was forced to resign the government to others, who falling out, ruined all by their divisions, which contributed to the taking of Jerusalem, which happened in his sister Sibylla's time,

In the second year of King Baldwin the Fourth, the Prince of Antioch, after many years imprisonment, having paid a great sum of money, was set at liberty, as also Josceline de Courtenay the King's uncle, by the care and industry of his sister Agnes, Princess of Sidon, and the King's mother,

In the year 1176, Saladin entered the Kingdom of Jerusalem with a great army, and whist Raimond Count of Tripoly, Protector of the Kingdom, with Philip Count of Flanders, and the chief strength of the kingdom, were absent in Coelosyria, wasting the country about Emissa and Caesarea, he laid siege to Ascalon; King Baldwin with some few forces was got into the town before, but did not dare to adventure out on so potent an enemy; with whose fear Saladin being encouraged, dispersed his army, some one way, some another, to forage the country: King Baldwin finding this opportunity, marched out privately, not having more than four hundred horse, with some few footman, and attacked the enemy, being six and twenty thousand; but the Christians notwithstanding this inequality got the victory, and in great triumph returned to Jerusalem, There were with the King in this fight Odo de St. Amand, Master of the Knights-Templars, with eighty of his knights, the Prince of Antioch, Baldwin de Ramis, and Balianus his brother, Rainald Prince of Sidon, Josceline de Courtenay, the King's uncle, and steward of the kingdom. This remarkable victory was got over the Turks, November the 25th, 1176.

In the year 1178, things being in a very bad condition with the Christians in the East, Henry Count of Treves arrived at Acon with a great retinue of Noblemen: there came with him among the rest Peter de Courtenay, brother to Lewis the French King, who married Elizabeth daughter of Reginald de Courtenay, and who had been one before in the Holy Land, as was said before. At the coming of these great men, the Christians, who were before much cast down with their great losses, conceived some hopes of having some advantage over the Turks; but instead of making things better, they still grew worse and worse.

In the seventh year of King Baldwin, Josceline de Courtenay, the King's uncle, was sent to Constantinople to desire some assistance against the Turks.

After the Kingdom of Jerusalem had enjoyed a little quiet, a peace having been made between King Baldwin and Saladin the Turkish Prince, there

fell out an unhappy quarrel betwext the King and Raimond Count of Tripoly; for the Count being employed about necessary business in his own country, and having staid there two years, and could not in all that time come to Jerusalem to look after the affairs of the kingdom, of which he was made protector, some that were about the king perswaded him, that the Count was coming to Jerusalem with an ill design, and that he did endeavour underhand to supplant him. The King giving too much heed to them, unadvisedly sent to the Count, and forbad his come any farther; The Count being astonished at this usage, and being very much incensed at it, went back to Tripoly, having to no purpose spent much money in preparing for his journey. The design of those that advised the King to this was, that in the absence of the Count, who was an industrious and vigilant man, they might manage all at their pleasure, and might make to themselves an advantage of the King's weakness. Amongst those that perswaded the King to this, were the King's mother, a woman very importunate in extorting any thing from the King, and her brother Josceline the King's steward, and some others that were their followers; which thing, when it was known to the princes of the kingdom, they were very much concerned at it; for they were afraid lest that the kingdom, wanting the assistance of so great a man, should come to ruin, and being divided against itself, should fall; and especially at this time, when the King's weakness encreasing upon him, he was every day made less fit to look after the affairs of the kingdom. The princes therefore of the kingdoms seeing what great danger the kingdom was in, endeavoured all they could to get the Count of Tripoly recalled, and to appease his anger which he had conceived at the affront; and at length, after many consultations and endeavours, they got the Count (the King not being very willing of it, but yet consenting to it) to come to Jerusalem, and they made up the peace between the King and him.

CHAPTER III.

In February 1183, all the nobles of the kingdom were called from all parts to come to Jerusalem, to consult about the affairs of the kingdom; for they were very much afraid of Saladin's coming upon them again, and therefore they consulted how they should be able to oppose him. And it was agreed, that a tax should be made over all the kingdom, and with the money raised, such a number of horse and foot should be maintained, as were able to defeat the designs of the enemy. The money that was to be collected by this tax out of all the cities which did lie between Caypha and Jerusalem, was to be carried by four of the chief of every city and town to Jerusalem, and they were to deliver it to those that were appointed to receive it; and they were to put the money of every city and town by itself in a bag sealed up into a chest, in the presence of the patriarch of Jerusalem, the prior of the Holy Sepulchre, and the governour of the city; which chest was to remain in the treasury of the Holy Cross, and was to have three locks and three keys, and the patriarch was to have one key, the prior of the Holy

Sepulchre another, and the governour of the city another. And the money that was collected in all the cities and towns that did lie between Caypha and Berytum, the four chief men out of every town were to bring it to Aeon, and there to deliver it to those that were appointed to receive it, and they were to put the money of every city in a bag by itself, sealed and superscribed, and then to put it all into a chest that had three locks and keys; and the first of these keys the Arch-Bishop of Tyre was to have, the second Josceline de Courtenay the King's steward, and the third, the four chief of the city of Aeon that were named for that purpose. And this money was to be spent no other way than in defence of the kingdom; and as long as any of this money remained, all other taxes were to cease; and this being extraordinary, was not to pass into a president.

The king having raised a great army by the help of this new tax, sent it forth under the command of Buy Count of Joppa, who had married his sister Sibylla; for he had put bye the Count of Tripoly, and made his protector in his place. There was never a finer army of the Christians seen in the Holy Land, and there were a great many brave princes to command it; as Raimond Count of Tripoly, Henry Duke Of Lovain, Radulphus de Malleine, a nobleman of Aquitain, besides a great many princes of Jerusalem, as Buy Count of Joppa, and amongst the rest, Josceline de Courtenay, the King's uncle; these all went to oppose Saladin, who was come with his forces into the Kingdom of Jerusalem. All the Christians generally thought that Saladin did not act prudently by coming over the River Jordan, and that they had him at an advantage. But there arose a contention amongst the great officers, so that they did not only manage the business which required so much diligence negligently, but also a great many of them endeavoured to make all the designs of the Count of Joppa fruitless; for they being angry that the King should commit the care of the Kingdom to the Count of Joppa, a man of little knowledge and experience, and altogether unfit for such a weighty concern; after they had for eight days together suffered the enemy to encamp near them unmolested, and most shamefully looked on, whilst they ruined the country round, (which thing was never known before) the eighth or ninth day they returned home without doing any thing. The King upon this displaces Guy Count of Joppa, and puts the Count of Tripoly again in his place. Guy Count of Joppa was angry at his being displaced, left the court in great discontent, and fortified his cities Joppa and Ascalon. The King being wearied out with these dissensions, and weakness of body, died in the five and twentieth year of his age, who, if it had not been for the weakness of his body, had been inferiour to none of his predecessors; he reigned twelve years\$ and was buried in the temple of the Sepulchre; and was happy in this, that he died before the death of his kingdom.

To Baldwin the Fourth succeeded Baldwin the Fifth, an infant; he was the posthumous son of William Marquis of Montserrat, by Sibylla his wife, sister to Baldwin the Fourth, and daughter of King Almerick and Agnes de Courtenay his wife; she was afterwards married to Guy of Lusignan, Count of Joppa and Ascalon. Raimond Count of Tripoly claimed to be protector of this young king, by virtue of an act of the former king so assigning him; but Baldwin died after he had reigned eight months and eight says; his death was concealed, 'till Guy his father-in-law had obtained, by large bribes given to the Templars, and to Heraclius Patriarch

of Jerusalem, to be made King. And now the Christian affairs hastened to their ruin, being spurred on by the discord of the princes.

At this time there was a truce betwixt the Christians and Saladin; but it was broken upon this occasion Saladin's mother went from Egypt to Damascus with a great treasure, but a little train, not fearing any danger, because the truce was in being; but Reinald de Castellio surprized and robbed her. Saladin glad of this occasion, gathereth all his strength together, and besiegeth Ptolemais. Now Raimond Count of Tripoly appeareth in his proper colours; vexed with the loss of his government, his great spirit hath no room for patience; so that blinded with anger at Buy, he revolted with his principality, a third part of the kingdom of Jerusalem, to Saladin; and in his own person, under a vizard, assisted him in the siege. Out of the city marched the Templars and Hospitallers, and falling on the Turks killed twenty thousand of theme in this battle the Master of the Hospitallers was slain; Saladin hereupon raiseth the siege; and Raimond Count of Tripoly, whether out of fear that the Christians might prevail, or remorse of conscience, or discontent, not finding that respect he expected from Saladin, reconciled himself to King Buy, and sorry for his former offence, returned to the Christians.

King Guy gathering all the strength of his weak kingdom, determined to bid Saladin battle, although he had but fifteen hundred horse, and fifteen thousand foot, against an hundred and sixty thousand foot.

The battle was fought near Tiberias, July the 3d; but night coming on parted them for the present; but next morning they came on a-fresh: the Christians valour for a great while poised the number of their enemies, 'till at last the heat of the weather and number of men turned the scales to the Turks side: Reinald de Castellio was slain, with most of the Templars and Hospitallers; Gerard Master of the Templars, and Boniface Marquis of Montserrat, were taken prisoners, and also Buy the King. Most impute this overthrow to the Count of Tripoly, who that day commanded a great part of the Christian army, and is said, by some, treacherously to have fled away; and the suspicion was increased, because the Count, afterward found dead in his bed, was, as some say, circumcised.

Saladin after this victory, having no one to oppose him, in a month's time conquered Berytus, Ptolemais, Biblus, and all the havens, Tyre excepted, from Sidon to Ascalon, which town (having sat down before it, but finding it too strong) he left, and went directly to Jerusalem. And although those within valiantly defended it for a fortnight, yet finding it impossible to save the place, (the Christians having no army to relieve it) they yielded up the city, October the 2d, 1187, on condition, that all their lives might be redeemed a man for ten, a woman for five, a child for one besant; and fourteen thousand poor people, not being able to pay their ransom, were kept in perpetual bondage. Thus Jerusalem, after it had been fourscore and eight years enjoyed by the Christians, fell again into the hands of the Turks.

As for Count Josceline, it does not appear whether he survived the taking of Jerusalem or not probably he might fall in the battle that was fought near Tiberias; or else he might be then taken prisoner with Buy the King; or he might be with Sibylla the Queen, his niece, who commanded in Jerusalem when the city was taken, her husband Guy of Lusignan being then prisoner. William Arch-bishop of Tyre ended his History before the death of King Baldwin the Fourth, or else we should have had an account when Count Josceline died. In him ended the Family of the Courtenays in the East; for, as Bouchet says, he had only two daughters by his wife Agnes, the third daughter of Henry

surnamed le Bussle, viz. Beatrix de Courtenay, married to one Count Alemand, and Agnes, who espoused William de la Mandalee.

After the taking of Jerusalem by Sultan Saladin, the Christians retired with their forces into some other towns of the Holy Land, which they had then in their possession, and which they made good for some time against the enemy; but by degrees they all fell in the enemy's hands.

Almerick, King of Jerusalem, as was said before, had a daughter named Isabell, by Mary his second wife, daughter to John Protosebastus, a Grecian prince; she was married to Humphry the Third Prince of Toron, but after the taking of Jerusalem, Conrade Marquis of Montserrat took her away by force from her husband, and married her; and in her right he took upon him the title of King of Jerusalem, in opposition to King Buy of Lusignan, who had married the elder sister Sibylla, and had been crowned king before the taking of Jerusalem: but Conrade did not enjoy his empty title long; for he was in a little time after slain in the market-place by some villains, which the Saracens called them, and we do now after them call assassins. Conrade being dead, Henry Count of Campagne, Lord of Tyre, took Isabell his widow to be his wife; but it is said he refused the title of King of Jerusalem, because Buy of Lusignan claimed it as due to him, and to his children which he had by Sibylla the queen, daughter of Almerick the King and Agnes de Courtenay his wife, elder sister to Isabell. After the death of Henry Count of Campagne, Almerick, brother King Buy, married Isabell his widow, the King's daughter, and took upon him the title of Lord of Tyre, and, after the death of his brother Buy the title likewise of King of Jerusalem; and because he managed the affairs of the Christians in the Holy Land not with that prudence and care that he should, John de Benne, a noble Frenchman, turned him out of his Principality of Tyre, and took upon him the title of King of Jerusalem; because he had married Yoland, the daughter of Conrade Marquis of Montserrat, and Isabell daughter of King Almerick, This John de Benne was a valient man, and the Christians under him obtained many advantages against the enemy; but being wounded at the Siege of Damiata in Egypt, he returned into France; and this is the last Christian king that had ever any possession of the Holy Land, inhabited ever since by Moors and Arabians, some few Christians, and not many Turks, such as be in garrison only,

The successors of Saladin, Sultan of Egypt, had possession of the Holy Land afterwards, and defended it against all invasions 'till the year 1517, when Selimus I. Emperour of Constantinople, of the Ottoman family, added the Holy Land, together with Egypt, to his empire,

John de Brenne, titular King of Jerusalem, had by Yoland his wife two daughters, Mary the younger, who was married to Baldwin de Courtenay, Emperour of Constantinople, (of whom we shall speak more largely in the Second Part) and Yoland the elder, who was married to Ferdinand the Second, Emperour of Germany, and with her the Emperour had the empty title of King of Jerusalem, and from him it came to the Kings of Naples; and the King of Spain, as descended from the Kings of Naples, doth to this day stile himself King of Jerusalem; concerning which title Dr. Heylin does relate a pleasant story, which is this; - When the wars in Queen Elizabeth's time were hot between England and Spain, there were commissioners on both sides appointed to treat of peace; they met at a town of the French King's; and first it was debated, in what tongue the negotiation should be managed: A Spaniard, thinking to give the English Commissioners a shrewd gird, proposed the French tongue as most fit, it

being a language which the Spaniards were well skilled in: " And as for these gentlemen of England, I suppose (saith he) that they cannot be ignorant of the language of their fellow-subjects; their queen is Queen of France, as well as of England. Nay, in my faith, my master, replied Dr. Dale, a civil lawyer, and one of the master of request, the French tongue is too vulgar for a business of this secrecy and importance, especially in a French tow; we will therefore treat in Hebrew, the language of Jerusalem, whereof your master is king; and I suppose you are therein as well skilled as in the French."

And as for Sibylla the Queen, the daughter of Almerick King of Jerusalem and Agnes de Courtenay his wife, it is uncertain, whether she survived the taking of the City of Jerusalem by the Turks, or not.

One historian says, that when the city was taken, she and four of her children were put to death; and if so, then in all probability her uncle Josceline de Courtenay perished with her, and Conrade Marquis of Montserrat, who had married her half-sister, his taking upon him the title of King of Jerusalem, does make it probable; for if she had been living, he would not have presumed to take that title upon him, as long as the Queen her elder sister lived. Of this queen, Mr. Fox, in his Acts and Monuments, relates a remarkable story, and I will put it in his own words: "Upon the death of the young King of Jerusalem, Baldwin the Fifth, the peers and nobles joining together in council, offered unto Sibylla the King's mothers as to the lawful heir to the crown, that she should be their queen, with this condition, that she should sequester from her, by solemn divorcement, Buy her husband; but she refused the kingdom offered to her on that condition 'till at last the magistrates, with the nobles in general, granted unto her, and by their oaths confirmed the same, that whomsoever she would chuse to be her husband, all they would take and obey as their king; also Guy her husband, with like petition among the rest, humbly requested her, that the kingdom, for his sake, or for his private loss, might not be destitute of government; at length she with tears consenting to their entreaty, was contented, and solemnly was crowned their queen, who after the manner received again their fidelity by their oath; whereupon Guy, without all hope both of wife and kingdom, departed home quietly to his own home, This done, the Queen assembling her states and prelates together, entered talk with them about the chusing of the king, according to that which they had promised and sworn to her, to obey him as their king, whom she should name to be her husband. Thus whilst they were all in expectation, waiting every man whom she would nominate, the queen, with a loud voice, said to Guy, that stood amongst theme Guy, my lord, I chuse thee for my husband, and yielding myself and my kingdom unto you, openly I protest You to be the King. At these words, all the assembly being amazed, wondered that one single woman so wisely had beguiled so many wise men; and worthy was she, no doubt, (saith Mr. Fox) to be commended and extolled for her singular virtue, both of faithful chastity and high prudence, so tempering the matter, that she obtained to her husband the kingdom, and retained to herself her husband, who she so faithfully loved." And indeed she loved in a very extraordinary manner, if, as some authors do suggest, she made away with her own son, to make way for him to the throne.

And as for Buy her husband, he was, as has been said, a prisoner, when Jerusalem was taken, and being afterwards set at liberty, he took upon him

the title of King of Jerusalem as long as he lived; and when Richard King of England went to the Holy Land to help the distressed Christians, in his way he seized upon the Island of Cyprus, and took the king of it prisoner, because they denied him the common courtesy, and would not let him take in fresh water, but did abuse his soldiers that went on shore; and after he came into the Holy Land, he bestowed the Kingdom of Cyprus upon Buy of Lusignan, the titular King of Jerusalem; some say, by way of exchange for the title of that lost kingdom; but others say, he gave a sum of money to the king for it. Buy took possession of the Kingdom of Cyprus, and having no son, Almerick his brother succeeded him in it; and it continued in the noble family of Lusignan 'till the year 1473, when it fell into the hands of the Venetians, and they kept it 'till 1570, almost one hundred years, when Mustapha, General of the Turkish army, wrested it from them for his master Selimus II. who pretended title to it as Lord of Egypt; and here it is to be observed, says my author, that the Cyprian Kings of the house of Lusingnan, as they retained the title of King of Jerusalem, as the King of Spain does, so they always bestowed upon their greatest subjects and most deserving servants, both titles of honour and state, belonging antiently to that kingdom; so that we find amongst theme a Prince of Antioch, a Prince of Gallilee, a Count of Tripoly, a Lord of Caesarea, a Lord of Mount Tabor, a Steward of Jerusalem, a Constable, Marshall and High Chamberlain of that kingdom; so fond were the Christians in former times of having any title or pretence to that Holy Land.

Here endeth the first part.

THE GENEALOGICAL
HISTORY
OF THE
NOBLE FAMILY
OF
COURTENAY.

PART II

BOOK I

CHAPTER 1.

The second branch of the family of Courtenay, that we are to speak off is that which is now in France, and is descended from Peter, a younger son of Lewis le Grosse, King of France, sixth of that name. This Peter married Isabell, or Elizabeth, daughter of Reginald de Courtenay, and took upon him the name and arms of Courtenay, which arms were the arms of the ancient Counts of Boulogne; and Eustace of Boulogne, as was said in the first part, did bear the same arms, viz. three torteaux's, Or, in a field, Gules, when he went to the Holy Land; and it is said, that the Courtenays are descended from the ancient Counts of Boulogne: and this family, being descended from the King's son, does claim to take place as Princes of the Blood; and of this family has Monsieur.

du Bouchet, Counsellor to Lewis XIV. in a large Genealogical History, given a particular account: and that I may make the History of the Family compleat, I shall take out of that History those things that I shall find most material.

Lewis the Sixth, surnamed le Grosse, married in the Year 1115, Adelais, the daughter of Humbert Count of Savoy, and had by her several sons and one daughter; the eldest son, named Philip, died young, by a fall from his horse; the second son, named Lewis, was crowned King during the Life of his Father, by Pope Innocent 11, and was therefore surnamed Lewis the Young, to distinguish him from his father, and he succeeded his father in his Kingdom; the third son was Henry, who died Arch-Bishop of Rheims, November 13, 1175; the fourth was Hugh, who died young; the fifth, called Robert, Count of Dreux, whose family did spread abroad in many branches, as did that of his brother Peter de Courtenay; and the last of that family was John de Dreux, Seigneur de Morinville, gentleman in ordinary of the King's chamber, and Governour of Perche, and who lost his life in the service of Henry the Great in the attack of Verneville, in the year 1590, and who, by reason of the smallness of his estate, was deprived of that rank and lustre, that the other princes of the blood had, as were also those of the Family of Courtenay: the sixth son was Philip; who married with one of the daughters of Thibault the Great, Count of Champagne, but was afterwards divorced by Sampson Arch-Bishop of Rheims, because they were too near a-kin; and he afterwards entered into orders, and was chosen Bishop of Paris; but by an example of extraordinary modesty, resigned it to Peter Lombard, Master of the Sentences, by reason of his extraordinary learning the seventh and last son of Lewis le Grosse was Peter de Courtenay, from whom, as was said before, is descended the Royal Branch of Courtenay, which has often but in its claim to take place as Princes of the Blood, and which is next to the House of Bourbon in succession to the Crown of France. As to the daughter of Lewis le Grosse, she was called Constance, and married, in February 1140, Eustace the eldest son of Stephen King of England, who was crowned in the life-time of his father by Thomas Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, in the year 1152, but he dying without children, in 1153, she was married afterward to Raimond the sixth of that name, Count of Tholouse.

Lewis le Grosse, the father of such a good stock, died in the year 1137, and his Queen Adelais was married again to Matthew the First, Lord of Montmorency, by who she had no child, and died in the year 1154.

Peter the son of Lewis le Grosse, whose posterity is the subject of the following History, was not above twelve years old when his father died, and when he was about two and twenty, he accompanied his brother Lewis the Young in his voyage to the Holy Land; at which time, with other great Princes and Lords of France, went Reginald de Courtenay, surnamed de Montargis, and William de Courtenay his brother, as was said in the First Part of this History; but the King having but bad success in the voyage, returned in a little time with his brother Peter de Courtenay. And this Peter de Courtenay married Isabel the daughter of Reginald de Courtenay, after the year 1150: he had no great estate given him by his father, and no title, but was only called the King's son, and in the time of Lewis the Young, the King's brother; but his Lady brought him the Seigneuries de Courtenay, de Montargis, de Castle-Reynard, de Champignelles, and other Seignories; and because she brought him such a great

estate, he took the name of Courtenay, as also the arms, and because she was of a great and noble family, and kin to him in the fourth degree, as Bouchet says; for Robert King of France had by his wife Constance de Arles, Henry the First King of France, and a daughter called Hadewide, wife to Reinauld, or Reginald the First, Count of Nevers, and Milo de Courtenay, grandfather to Isabel, wife of Peter son of Lewis le Grosse, married Ermegarde the daughter of the Count de Nevers; so that they were both descended from Robert King of France: and it was usual in those days for great persons to take upon them the names of their wives, if they were heirs to great estates, and their posterity to be called after their wives names, of which there are many instances, as Bouchet says, in the Royal Family of France: so Hugh the Great, son of Henry the First, took the name and arms of Alix Countess of Vermandois, his mother; Robert Count de Dreux, brother to Peter de Courtenay, took the arms of Agnes his wife, Lady de Braine, and his name from her estate; and many other instances of the like nature does Bouchet give us in his History. And Mr. Camden in his Britannia says, "That Richard Earl of Cornwall, and Emperour of Germany, son to King John, and his son Edmund, did bear arms different from those of the Royal Family; and all the reason that I can give for it (says he) is, that they might possibly do it in imitation of the Royal Family of France (since the custom of bearing arms came to us from the French) for the younger sons of the Kings of France have arms different from the Crown to this day, as one may observe in the families of Vermandois, Dreux, and Courtenay.

This Peter de Courtenay did confirm to the religious of the Abbey of Fountain-jean, together with the Princess Elizabeth, or Isabel, his wife, and their three sons, all those things that were given them by Miles their grandfather, the Founder of that Abbey, as appears by a writing in Latin, in the End of Bouchet's History, among the proofs of his history; and six years after he did by his grant confirm certain customs to the inhabitants of Montargis, and stiles himself in that grant, Peter, by the Grace of God, brother to Lewis King of France. In the year 1178, the French King, his brother, chose him for one of the three barons that he was obliged to send for the Executing a Treaty of Peace and Alliance made between him and Henry the Second, King of England; for it was agreed between them, that they should each of them send three barons and three bishops to compromise the difference that was between theme and King Lewis named for his three barons, Thibauld Count de Blois, Robert Count de Dreux, and Peter de Courtenay, (so he is called by Hoveden) his brothers. And the two Kings did by this treaty promise to raise a great army, and to go with it in person to the Holy Land to help the Christians there; but this design of the two Kings came to nothing: but Peter Prince of Courtenay did resolve to make a voyage the year after with Henry the First Count of Champagne, Philip de Dreux, Bishop of Beavois, and other Grandees of the Realm; but before he went, he left great tokens of his piety to the Abbey of Fountain-jean. William Arch-Bishop of Tyre says, that upon the arrival of those Princes at Acres, the Christians conceived great hopes of changing their fortune, but their condition was so bad, that there could be but little done.

It is not certain, whether the Prince of Courtenay died beyond Sea, or came home with the Count of Champagne, and Philip de Dreux: it is plain he did not live beyond the year 1183; for in that year, the Princess Elizabeth being stiled widow, did with four of her sons, Peter, Robert, Philip, and William, ratify a gift, which

her husband had made in his life-time to the Abbey of Nostre-Dame de Rosay: and in the Year 1189, the same Princess Elizabeth did give forty shillings rent out of the Seigniorie of Chantecoq; to be paid yearly to the Canons of Nostre-Dame de Paris, upon their promise of celebrating every year the anniversary of her husband, and of her after her death: and she gave also sixty shillings rent to be paid yearly to the Hostel de Dieu in Paris; and she gave likewise an hundred shillings to the Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem: and in the year 1205, she confirmed gifts to the Abbey of Escharlis. And this is the last act of her that is left upon record.

The children of Peter of France, Seigneur de Courtenay, first of that name, and the Lady Elizabeth his wife, were, 1. Peter, Seigneur de Courtenay, second of that name, Count de Nevers, de Auxerre, and le Tannere, Marquis of Namur, and afterward Emperour of Constantinople, of whom we shall speak in the next chapter. 2. Robert de Courtenay, Seigneur de Champignelles, etc. Butler of France, of whose posterity we shall speak, after that of his elder brother. 3. Philip de Courtenay, named with his mother in three grants, made in the years 1183, 1184, 1186. He was unknown to Du Tillet, and others who have wrote of the Family of Courtenay. 4. William de Courtenay, Seigneur de Tanlay, etc. whose posterity shall be spoken of, next after the posterity of Robert de Courtenay. 5. John de Courtenay, who, as Du Tillet says, was bound to King Augustus for the Fidelity of his niece, Maud de Courtenay, Countess of Nevers, in the year 1221; and he is also mentioned in another writing in the year 1211 and he is also mentioned in another writing in the year 1211, according to the Memoirs of Du Chesne. 6. Alix, the eldest daughter of Peter of France and Elizabeth his wife, was married to William 1, Count of Joigny: she was afterward divorced from him, by reason of their being too near of kin; and she married afterward Aimar I. Count of Angoulesme, and was the mother of one daughter, named Elizabeth, who was heir to her father's estate,- and she was married, first to John King of England, and afterward to Hugh Brun, Earl of March and Lord of Lusignan in Valence and Poictou: the children that she had by King John were, 1. Henry III. King of England. 2. Richard, Earl of Cornwal, chosen Emperour of Germany. 3. Joan, who was the first wife of Alexander 11. King of the Scots. 4. Isabel, wife of the Emperour Frederick II. 5. Eleanor, first married to William Marshall the Younger, Earl of Pembroke, and after his decease, without issue, was married to Simon Montfort, Earl of Leicester, son of Simon Earl of Montfort in France, by Amice daughter of Robert Blanchman, Earl of Leicester, who maintaining the Barons Wars against King Henry her brother, was slain at the Battle of Evesham, in the 19th year of her brother's reign, 1265, after whose death she and her children were forced to forsake England: she died in the Nunnery of Montargis, founded by Milo de Courtenay her ancestor. By Hugh Earl of March, Lord of Lusignan, she had divers children greatly advanced by Henry 111. her half-brother, and as greatly maligned by his subjects; 1. Hugh Earl of March and Angoulesme. 2. Buy of Lusignan, slain in the Battle of Lewis. 3. William of Valence, Earl of Pembroke. 4. Ailmer of Valence, Bishop of Winchester. 5. Geofry of Lusignan, Lord of Hastings. Daughters: 1. Agathe de Lusignan, wife of William de Chauvigny. 2. Alice, married to John Count de Varennes. 3. Isabel, married to Geofry de Rancon, and afterward to Hugh, second of that name, Sieur de Craon; and 5. Margaret, married to Raimond the last Count of Tholouse, from whom being separated, she espoused Americ Viscount de Touars, and afterward Geofry de Chasteau - Briant.

7. N ... de Courtenay, another daughter of Peter of France and Elizabeth de Courtenay, she was mother of Eudes de la March in Hungary, as Alberick in his Chronicle says, about the year 1197. 8. Clemence de Courtenay, was married, according to the same Alberick, to the Seigneur de Thiern in Auvergne, whose name he does not mention. 9. N ... de Courtenay, fourth daughter of Peter of France and Lady Elizabeth his wife, was espoused, according to the testimony of Alberick, to Seigneur de Charros in Berry, named Aymon in one Charter of the Abbey le Pree, in the year 1193. 10. Constance the fifth daughter, was married twice, as says the said Alberick, first to the Seigneur de Chateaufort near Paris, by whom she was the mother of St. Thibault de Marli, Abbot of the Abbey of Du Val de Sernay, and in her second marriage she married William Seigneur de Fort Arnaud. 11. Eustachia de Courtenay, the sixth daughter, had for her husband William, first of that name, Count de Sancerre: this Count William did accompany to the East Peter de Courtenay, his brother-in-law, when he was chosen Emperour of Constantinople, and before he went, he ordered his Countess to give in Alms to some religious house +or the good of his soul, and the souls of his predecessors, six pounds annual rent, which was given in the year 1218 by his Countess to the Priory of St. Stephen in Sens; she had no child by the Count, who died with the Emperour his brother-in-law, prisoner of Theodore Comenius, Emperour of Thessalonica.

CHAPTER II.

Peter, second of that name, Seigneur de Courtenay and de Montargis, Count de Nevers, de Auxerre, and de Tonnere, Marquis of Namur, and afterwards chosen Emperour of Constantinople; after the death of his father, he, together with his mother, confirmed the gift of his father to the Abbey of Nostre-Dame de Rosay in the Diocese of Sens, in the year 1183: and in the year after, King Lewis Augustus, his cousin-german, and afterwards his brother-in-law, procured for him in marriage the heiress of the family of Nevers, one of the richest, most illustrious, and most antient in the Kingdom of France, and who was, as Bouchet makes out by the pedigree kin to him in the fourth degree. And this Peter de Courtenay did make over to King Philip his right to the Seigniorie of Montargis, +or the right that the King did pretend to have in the County of Nevers. In the year 1189, he, together with Agnes his wife, and his wife's mother, confirmed a gift that was made by William Count of Nevers to the Abbey of St. Michael de Tonnere; and he likewise approved and confirmed the gift that his mother made to the Canons of Nostre-Dame in Paris, of forty shillings a year rent out of the Seigniorie of Chantecoag; but he tarnished afterward the lustre of his actions of piety by the ill-will that he bore for some time to religion and things sacred, and by the violences he used against the ecclesiasticks that were in his dominions; for it appears by an ancient author, that he having carried his injuries and violences even to the sacred altars, he rendered them deserted, and without any religious worship, for the space of five years: the Church of Auxerre, because he had in a violent manner drove away

the Bishop and the Clergy, was put under an interdict; and a woman that had a child dead meeting him, and complaining to him, that she could not have her child buried according to the usage of the Church, because by his means the City of Auxerre was under an interdict he caused the child to be buried in the Bishop's chamber before his bed; which Bishop had denounced the censures of the Church against him twice; but St. William, Arch-Bishop of Bourges, his uncle, by his wholesome admonitions, did at length bring him to a sound mind, and was the instrument of his conversion: he did therefore in the presence of him, the Arch-Bishop of Sens, and a great number of other persons, make publick confession of his faults, on Easter-Day in the year 1204, and begged pardon of the Bishop; and in a humility which truly proceeded from a contrite heart, he buried the corps of the infant with his own hands, which he had before ordered to be buried in a private chamber, and with bare feet, and in his shirt, he carried it upon his shoulders from the Bishop's house to the church-yard of Mont d'Autry, notwithstanding there proceeded a stinking smell from the corps, enough to infect the air: and when he was received into the bosom of the Church, he drove away the Jews from the City of Auxerre, and gave the ground where their synagogue stood to the Bishop, where was afterwards a church built in honour of St. Nicholas and St. Antony.

The heresy of the Albigenses, which had infested Languedoc for six years, did force Pope Innocent III, to publish a crusade, and to endeavour to suppress it by force of arms, which he could not do by the perswasions of his legates that he sent amongst them, or by the preaching of St. Bernard and St. Dominick. Peter de Courtenay was one of those that took the cross upon him for this enterprize in the year 1211, and he endeavoured to perswade the Count de Tholouse, his cousin-german, who headed an army against the Catholicks, to submit himself to the Church. And in the year 1214, he gave great marks of his Valour in the famous Battle of Bovines, where he had the grief to see one of his sons fight in favour of the enemies of France; the fame of his valour and his merit did spread home to the East, and he was thought fit to possess the Empire of Constantinople, and to succeed the Emperour Henry, brother of Yoland his second wife, who was married to him in the year 1193: she was daughter of Baldwin, fifth of that name, Count of Hainault, surnamed the Couragious, and Margaret of Alsace, Countess of Flanders. He parted his wife and his four sons, in the year 1217. But before we give a farther account of this Emperour, it will be necessary to shew how the Latin or Western Princes came to possess that Empire.

We have mentioned in the former Part two great Crusades that were made for the recovery of the Holy Land; the First by Godfrey of Bouillon; the Second by the Emperour Conrade, and Lewis, surnamed the Young, King of France; the Third Crusade, or voyage to the Holy Land, was made in the year 1188, by Philip Augustus King of France, Otho Duke of Burgundy, Richard Count of Poitiers, afterwards King of England, Baldwin Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, and many other great men, with a great army; the several fleets met at Messina, and from thence the King of France with the rest sailed to the Holy Land; and came before Acres, which the Christians had besieged the winter before; and the city was taken in the month of July, in the year 1191: after the taking of which, the King fell into a grievous sickness, and returned to France; King Richard staid longer, and got several advantages over the Infidels.

The fourth voyage to the Holy Land was in the year 1198. Thibault Count Palatine of Brie and Champagne, second of that name, and nephew to King Philip Augustus, Baldwin Count of Flanders and Hainault, with many other Princes, Lords and knights, joined their army with that of the Venetians, and embarked themselves at Venice, under the conduct of the Duke of Venice, Henry Dandolo, with design to sail to the Holy Land: but in the mean time Alexius Angelus, second of that name, Emperour of Constantinople, being unjustly thrust out of his Empire by his uncle Alexius, had recourse to Philip the Western Emperour, whose daughter Mary he had married: and the Emperour Philip so prevailed with Pope Innocent III. that the army prepared for the Holy Land was employed to restore Alexius to his Empire; on the approach of which army Alexius the Usurper fled, Alexius the young Emperour is seated in his father's throne, and not long after slain by Alexius Ducas; in revenge whereof, the Latines assault and take Constantinople, make themselves master of the Empire, and divide it amongst themselves; allotting to the Venetians, Candia, many good towns of Peloponnesus, and most of the Islands; to Boniface Marquis of Montserrat, the Kingdom of Thessaly; to others of the adventurers, other liberal shares; and, finally, to Baldwin Earl of Flanders, the main body of the Empire, with the title of Emperour. The seat of the Empire of the Greeks being transferred unto Nice, a City of Bythinia in the Lesser Asia, by Theodorus Lascaris, son-in-law to Alexius the Usurper, continued there 'till the regaining of Constantinople by the Greeks again, after it had been possessed sixty years by the Western Christians. Constantinople was taken by the Latines on the Thursday before Palm-Sunday, February 1200; and Baldwin Count of Flanders was crowned Emperour in the great Patriarchal Church of Saint Sophia: he reigned not longer than one year; for he was taken in fight by John of Bulgaria, coming to assist the Greeks, and sent prisoner to Ternova, where he was cruelly put to death. To Baldwin succeeded his Brother Henry, who repulsed the Bulgarians out of Greece, and died a conquerour.

To Henry succeeded Peter de Courtenay, Count of Auxerre, etc. as we said before; and he arrived at Rome in the beginning of April 1217, where Pope Honorius III. solemnly crowned him and his Countess, in the Church of St. Lawrence without the Walls, on Sunday the 19th of the same month, and the Emperour departed from Rome the 9th day after he was crowned, accompanied with John Colonna, Cardinal and Legate of the Pope in the East, the Empress and her sons, the Count of Sancerre, his brother-in-law, with one hundred and sixty knights, and five thousand five hundred chosen men, both horse and foot, well armed, which he raised in France; and in order to raise and equip this army, he engaged his County of Tannere to Herve Count de Nevers, his son-in-law; except the fiefs of the Chastenellie de Mailly; upon condition, that if he died in six years, it should remain for ever to Herve; but in case that he did out-live the six years, then he should enjoy it during his life. He embarked at Brundisium in some ships that were got ready for his, and sent his Empress and his children Strait to Constantinople; for he had agreed with the Venetians to take the Country of Epirus for them, and to besiege Dyrrachium, which Theodore Comenius, who took upon him the title of Emperour of Thessalonica, had taken from them. But that enterprise proved of very bad consequence; for it cost him his life, and the lives of a great part of his army: for after they had lain for some time before the place, and had lost a great many valiant men, the courageous

resistance of the besieged, forced him to raise the siege; and as he was to go by land to Constantinople, he was forced to pass through the enemy's country, and he had not gone over the mountains of Albania, before he found himself attacked by the enemy on every side, where-upon he found there was a necessity for him to die or to conquer, and therefore was resolved to fight. But Theodore Comenius, fearing the event, had recourse to persidiousness, and desired that the Pope's legate might be sent to him, that they might accommodate the matter: and it was agreed, that the Emperour should pass through his country with his army, without any hostility on either side; and that Comenius should furnish him with provision, and all things necessary +or his army in their passage; and when they Here agreed, Theodore Comenius through treachery, which is common to the Greeks, seised upon the Emperour, together with the legate, the Bishop of Salone in Dalmatia, the Count de Sancerre, and the other persons of quality that were with him. Some authors do write, that the Emperour and the Grandees that accompany'd him, whilst they were at dinner with him where they were invited, were then all assassinated by him, except the legate, and that all his troops were cut in pieces as they marched without any fear, depending upon the faith of Comenius, and the treaty that was made with him; ;but, whether the Emperour was slain at dinner by Theodore, or as he was on his march, as others would have it, or whether he died in prison, as others do say, it is certain that he was alive, or a least his friends thought so, in the year 1218: for in the end of Bouchet, amongst the records, there is a deed of the Countess of Sancerre dated that year, which makes mention of the Emperour and her husband as living. Alberick says, that his Emperess Yoland governed Constantinople until her death, and that could not be long; for the continuator of the Chronicle of the Monk of Saint Morian in Auxerre says, that she died in the year 1218,

Peter de Courtenay had by Agnes de Nevers, his first wife, one daughter called Mahaud de Courtenay, Countess de Nevers, de Auxerre, and de Tannere: she was married, in the year 1199, to Herve, the fourth of that name, Seigneur de Douzy, one of the most potent and richest lords of the realm, by whom she had one son and one daughter; the son died young, and the daughter, named Agnes, being sole heiress to the house of Douzy and that of Nevers, was promised by her father to Henry the eldest son of John King of England: but Philip Augustus King of France having hindred that match, she was married, in the year 1217, to Philip of France, the eldest brother of St. Lewis the French King, and he died the year after; and then she married again to Buy de Chastillon, first of that name, Count of St. Paul.

The children of Peter, second of that name, Seigneur de Courtenay, Count d'Auxerre and Emperour of Constantinople, and of Yoland de Hainault, his second wife, were, 1. Philip de Courtenay; he followed the party of Ferr and Count of Flanders against King Philip Augustus, his uncle, and fought against the King in the Battle of Bovines, in the year 1214, as was said before: and in the year 1216, he was Marquis of Namur, which his father left him when he went into the East; and after the death of the Emperess his mother, the French and Venetians that were at Constantinople, sent to him by a solemn message to come and receive the Imperial Crown, which did belong to him upon the death of the Emperour his father. And although, as Alberick says, he was one of the most valiant Princes of his time, he desired to be excused for reasons unknown; and preferred the estate that he had before to the Empire

of Constantinople, which he voluntarily resigned to his younger brother Robert. Afterwards he had war with Valeran the Second, Duke of Limbourg, who pretended to the Marquisate of Namur, upon the account of his wife: but after several combats between them, the Archbishop of Cologne and the Bishop of Liege terminated the differences between them, in a treaty concluded at Dinant, in the month of March 1222. In the month of June the same year, being at Melun, he swore fealty to King Philip Augustus, and afterwards he continued attached to the interest of France, and accompanied King Lewis VIII. to the Siege of Avignon, where he died, without being married, in the year 1226. The 2nd son was Peter de Courtenay; he was designed for the Church, but died young. 3. Robert de Courtenay, who was Emperour of Constantinople; of whom I shall speak in the next chapter. 4. Henry de Courtenay, Marquis of Namur, after his brother Philip; Alberick says, that he was under the tutorage of Enguerrand the Third, Seigneur de Coucy, and that he died in the year 1229, and that the Countess of Vianden, his sister, put herself in possession of the Marquisate of Namur. 5th son, was Baldwin de Courtenay. Du Tillet, through a mistake, says he was son and not brother of Robert: he was Emperour after him, and we shall speak of him in the fourth chapter of this book. 6. Margaret de Courtenay; she was the eldest daughter of the Emperour Peter and Yoland his second wife: she espoused in her first marriage Raoul the Third, Seigneur de Issondon, about the year 1210, and he died about the year 1215, and left no child by her: she married afterward, in the year 1217, with the eldest son of the Count de Vianden, in the Dutchy of Luxembourg, who afterward succeeded his father in that title; and he and his wife entered upon the Marquisate of Namur, after the death of Henry de Courtenay; and they enjoyed it home to the year 1237, when Baldwin II. Emperour of Constantinople, brother to Margaret, took it out of their hands. Nevertheless the same Emperour, who was to come into France, at his return again to the East, in the year 1247, did order, that the Governour of the Castle of Namur, and the soldiers of the garrison, and the Dean and Canons of St. Peter in Namur, should swear, that in case he did die without any issue, they would deliver up the place to his eldest sister Margaret, if she were then alive; and if not, then to his sister Elizabeth, Lady of Montague; and in case she was not living, then to his other sister, Agnes Princess of Achaia. This Princess Margaret had three children by the Count de Vianden, Philip Count de Vianden, after his father, Henry de Vianden, Bishop of Utrecht, and Yoland de Vianden-religious.

Elizabeth de Courtenays second daughter of the Emperour Peter, by his second wife, was married twice; her first husband was Gaucher, son of Milo 111. Count de Bar-fur-Seine, but he died without any children, at the siege of Damiette, in the year 1219: she married afterward Eudes the First, Seigneur de Montague and de Chagny; she lived to the year 1247, and was the mother of many children, mentioned in the History of the Dukes of Burgogne by Monsieur du Chesne, and in that of Messieurs de Sainte-Martha. Yoland de Courtenay, third daughter of the Emperour, was second wife of Andrew II. King of Hungary. This Queen Yoland died in the year 1233, and, as Alberic says, she was buried in the Abbey of Egrez. The King married again in the year 1235, May 14, Beatrix daughter of Aldobrandin II, Marquis d'Este, and died, as Alberick says; the same year. By his Queen Yoland he had one only daughter, of the same name with her mother, from whom is descended the

House of Austria, that did formerly give Kings to Spain, and does now Emperours to Germany. Mary de Courtenay, fourth daughter, married in the year 1219, to Theodore Lascaris, Emperour of the Greeks in Asia; she had no child by him, he died in the year 1222, and she a little time after. Agnes, the fifth daughter, married Geofry de Hardouin II. Prince of Achaia and of the Morea, surnamed the Young, by whom she had William Ville-Hardouin, Prince of Achaia and of the Morea, Steward of Romania, who married Anne Comenia, daughter of Michael Angelo, despote of Etolia and Epirus, and Prince of Thessalonica, who was father of Isabell Ville-Hardouin, Princess of Achaia and Morea, and married first with Florent de Hainault, Seigneur de Braine and Hall, and afterwards she married Philip of Savoy, Prince of Piedmont. The sixth daughter was Eleanor; she married Philip de Montfort, Seigneur de Ferte-Aleps in Beauce, nephew to Simon the Fourth, Count de Montfort and Leicester, General of the War against the Algigenses. The seventh daughter was Constance, who is mentioned with her father in a charter made to the Abbey of Vezelay, in the year 1210; and there is nothing more known of her than her name. Sibyll de Courtenay was the eighth daughter; she was a religious in the Monastery of Fonteurant, to which Monastery her father gave twenty five pounds Paris, annual rent, upon her account, which was confirmed by her brother Philip de Courtenay, Marquis of Namur, in the year 1223, in the month of March. She died in the thirteenth year of her age, as the register of the said Monastery doth shew, in which are these words: Sibylle obiit virgo apud Fontem-Ebrardi, aetatis 13. annorum, filia Comitis Autissiodorensis, and Yolendis de Flandria.

CHAPTER III.

Robert de Courtenay succeeded his father Peter in the Empire of Constantinople, Philip his elder brother, Marquis of Namur having yielded it up to him; and he parted from France about the year 1220; and having gone through Germany and Hungary, where he passed the winter with King Andrew his brother-in-law, he arrived at Constantinople the beginning of March 1221. The Patriarch Matthew crowned him Emperour in the Church of St. Sophia the 25th day of the same month, and then he confirmed all that Conon de Bethune had done during the time that he was regent in the Empire, which he found attacked by two potent enemies, viz. Theodore de Lascaris, Emperour of the Greeks in Asia, and Theodore Comenius, Prince of Epirus. But because this last did put his father to death, and he was willing to be revenged of him, he made peace with Lascaris his brother-in-law; and that this peace might be firm and lasting, he promised to marry Eudoxia his daughter, which he had by Anne Comenia, his first wife, the daughter of the Emperour Alexis, surnamed Andronicus. But this came to none effect; not only by reason of the death of Theodore, which happened just as he was about to send his daughter Eudoxia to Constantinople, but on account of the artifices of John Ducas, surnamed Vatacius, his son-in-law, and successor in the Empire of Nice; against whom the Emperour Robert, some time after, marched an army into Asia, where he gave him Battle.

But the success did not answer the hopes that the French had conceived, when they had put the Greeks into disorder the first onset; for Vatacius having rallied his men, and encouraged them by his example and valour, the fight was renewed by him with so great vigour, that notwithstanding the brave resistance of the Emperour Robert, he forced the victory to declare for him, and he remained master of the field. Alexis and John Lascaris, Generals of the Army for the Emperour Robert, were taken prisoners, and afterwards put to death, although they were the uncles of Vatacius's wife. But the victory cost Vatacius dear, for there were a great many Greeks slain; and the Emperour Robert also lost the greatest part of the best of his men; so that because he had not forces enough to defend himself from his enemies, he had recourse to Pope Honorius III. and to King Lewis VIII. his cousin-german, for to send him some auxiliary troops; but they gave him but little hopes to expect any; he was therefore constrained to make peace with Vatacius, and to yield to him that which Vatacius had taken from him to Asia, upon condition that the Princess Eudoxia, who was promised to be given to him in marriage by her father, should be sent to him: but Vatacius delaying for some time to perform this last article, the Emperour changed his design towards Eudoxia; for he was in the mean time fallen in love with, and afterward married to a French lady of extraordinary beauty, who was a daughter of a gentleman of quality in the County of Artois, named Baldwin de Neusulle: and the Emperour was so much given up to his passion, that he did not consider that she had made a contract with a certain Knight of Burgundy, and that he had need to have married into some great family, and by that to have made himself formidable to his enemies. It happened that the Princess Eudoxia came to Constantinople, whilst the Emperour was so violently in love with this young lady, and her coming was not well-pleasing to the Emperour; and she married with his consent a gentleman of Picardie, named Anselm de Cahieu. The gentleman that had the Emperess taken from him just as he was going to marry her, not being able to bear the injury that he thought was done to him, took a resolution to be revenged on the Emperour; and he with some of his friends and relations, whom he had made privy to his design, went by night into the palace, and having seized the mother of the Emperess, they took her and threw her into the sea, and then cut off the nose and lips of the young Emperess. The Emperour was very much grieved at this outrage; and he was the more troubled, because a great many of the great men of the court, out of hatred to this person, were accomplices with the young gentleman in this barbarous facti he therefore leaves Constantinople and goes to Rome, to desire aid of the Pope, that he might be able to punish the insolence of his subjects and having staid at Rome for some time, by the advice of the Pope, he went home to look after his affairs, and as he was upon the road, he fell sick in Achaia, and died there in the year 1228: he left no child behind him. And we may say, says Bouchet, that this was the source and original of all the disgraces that were inseparable afterwards from the reign of his successor, and which did fall upon the empire. Some do say, that by reason of his cowardice, a great part of the conquest that the French had made in Greece was lost. But I cannot, says Bouchet, find, but that it was more his misfortune than his faults for the best of his troops perished in the battle against Vatacius at Pamarin, and he had but few forces to oppose his enemies with; and it was impossible for him to have succours in another crusade, in season, from kingdoms that were so far from him.

CHAPTER IV.

Baldwin de Courtenay succeeded Robert his brother in the Empire of Constantinople; the Emperess his mother was in child-bed with him at Constantinople whilst his father was a prisoner, about the end of the year 1217: and because the minority in which he was, when his brother Robert died, rendered him incapable to hold the reins of an empire, filled with divisions, and attacked with potent enemies, as that of Constantinople was, and of which he was lawful heir; therefore the chief lords of the realm chose for protector of the empire John Azen, King of Bulgaria, a powerful prince and of great reputation; and they did propose, that there should be a marriage between the young Emperour Baldwin and the King of Bulgaria's daughter, a young lady of extraordinary beauty; and in consideration of this marriage, the Bulgarians should be obliged, at their own expence, to recover to the empire all that it had lost in the East. But the power of this King of Bulgaria was suspected by those that had a hand in the barbarity that was committed against the wife of the last Emperour; and they were afraid that the Emperour would make use of his power to revenge the injuries done his brother: some therefore perswaded the rest of the noblest that this alliance would be one time or other fatal to the empire, because these barbarians were naturally persidious, and might in time dispossess the French, and turn them out of the empire, under pretence of sending them succours. They then did break off with Azen, and did cast their eyes on John de Brenne, titular King of Jerusalem, a prince of great Valour and consummate experience, and who was then in Italy, and commanded the army of Pope Gregory IX. against the Emperour Frederick II. his son-in-law. The choice was approved on by the Pope; and the ambassadours from Constantinople and from King John met, and agreed upon certain articles contained in a treaty, made with the advice of the Pope, and in his presence, and they are found in the continuation of Baronius's Annals in the year 1229. And the sum of the treaty was, that there should be a contract of marriage made between Baldwin the Emperour and the King of Jerusalem's daughter, which should be consummated when they came of age; and that because the Emperour is a minor, the King should be crowned Emperour, and enjoy the empire during his life; and after his death, Baldwin and his heirs shall succeed in the empire, In consequence of this treaty, King John made preparation to go and take possession of the empire, and in the mean time he went and desired succours of the French King, and came again into Italy to take with him those troops that he had raised there; and about the latter end of Autumn, 1231, he arrived at Constantinople, where he was received with great joy, and was crowned Emperour in the Church of St. Sophia. But having passed away two whole years without doing any thing against the enemy, his army was much diminished and when the Emperour of Nice, and Azen King of Bulgaria, had entered into a league against him, and came and besieged Constantinople, he had but few forces to defend it; and they had certainly taken it, if it had not been for the extraordinary valour of one hundred sixty French knights, their squires and attendants, who in a wonderful manner beat off the Army of the Greeks. But this defeat did not dishearten the enemy, but they got another army, and

being pushed on with a desire to repair the disgrace, they besieged Constantinople a second time, and they were forced to raise the siege again: but these victories gave no other advantage to the Emperour, but only to see for some time the Greeks and Bulgarans to be got off from the walls of the capital of his empire; for through want of money and necessaries, he was not able to keep the field: he therefore resolves to send a petition to Pope Gregory IX. that he would press the Christian princes to send those succours that they had promised him. And for this end Prince Baldwin, his son-in-law, went into Italy, in the year 1236, accompanied with John de Bethune, Count de St. Paul, one of the most noble and most valiant gentlemen of the age, who was nephew to Conon de Bethune, Prince of Adrianople, and who was thought fit, for his merit and illustrious birth, to have the government of the empire after the death of the Emperess Yoland.

Prince Baldwin having informed the Pope of the deplorable state the empire was reduced to, and of the great want of men and money, he obtained of the Pope bulls to publish a Crusade in France; and he went to France the beginning of the year 1237: and the King St. Lewis, and the King's mother, received him, not only with the respect that was due to his great dignity and birth, but also with great demonstration of love, as being their near kinsman; and to give him some marks of friendship, the King did put him into possession of the Seignioury of Courtenay, and other estates that did belong to him in France: and Joan Countess of Flanders did likewise surrender to him all those estates that did belong to him in her county: and Margaret de Courtenay, Countess of Vianden, his sister, was the only person that refused to yield up to him his right; and he was going to force her to it, and there was like to be war between him and the Count her husband; but at last they agreed to stand to the judgment of the Countess of Flanders, and she ordered, that the Marquisate of Namur should be delivered to Baldwin for the sum of 7000 livres, which he should be bound to pay to the Countess his sister, and to the Count, for the charges they were at in defending the Marquisate all the time they had the possession of it. A little time after he had this good success, he received by messengers sent to him from Constantinople, and account of the death of the Emperour his father-in-law, which happened the 3d of March, as also an account of the great danger the empire was in; whereupon he did all that he could to engage the Christian princes in its preservation. The Pope gave orders that the tenths of the dioceses of Lyons, Mascon, and Chalons, should be put into the hands of John de Dreux, Count of Mascon, to be employed for the raising of soldiers for the succour of Constantinople and in the mean time Prince Baldwin went over into England, to desire the assistance of King Henry III. his cousin-german. Matthew Paris in his History writes, that when King Henry heard of his landing at Dover, he sent to him as messenger, to acquaint him, that he took it ill that such a prince as he should enter his kingdom without giving him notice of its and without his permission, Matthew Paris says, the King was offended because the Emperour John de Brenne had taken part with the French King against him, and he thought that Prince Baldwin was come to desire succours for the Holy Land. But when the King considered his great dignity, and the nearness of blood that was betwixt them, he sent to him, and told him, that seeing he was come into his kingdom as a friend, he desired him to continue his journey, and to honour him with his presence: which message was very acceptable to Prince Baldwin, and he came to London the second

day of May, and went from thence to the King's house at Woodstock, where was the King and his brother Richard Earl of Cornwall, who was afterwards Emperour of Germany. They received him with that honour that was due to his great birth and quality, and both of them made him great presents and the King, because he could not help him with men, delivered to him seven hundred marks of silver for to raise men in France, where he arrived in a little time after. And he sent considerable succours into Greece, under the command of John de Bethune, hoping that he himself, in a little time after, would march with a considerable Army, together with the Duke of Burgundy, the Count of Britain, the Counts de Bar, Soissons, and Mascon, and many other great men of France, which had taken upon them the cross, in order to assist Constantinople. But the success was not so lucky as Prince Baldwin with reason might hope; for John de Bethune dy'd at Venice of grief, for that he was taken prisoner as he marched his army through Lombardy, by the Emperour Frederick II. enemy to his master, who pretended that his troops committed some acts of hostility; and because he could not obtain his liberty, although he offered one hundred marks of gold for his ransom, a great part of the officers of the army, finding themselves without a general, and without subsistence, went to Rome, after they had given liberty to the soldiers to go where they would; so that those that went to Constantinople were but few, and those did but serve to augment the misery of the city, which was very great, but reason of the want of money and provisions. And the want was so great, that the regent and other great officers of the empire were obliged to mortgage the Crown of Thorns which our blessed Saviour wore which thing was done the fourth the September, 1238, to Nicholas Quirini, a gentleman of Venice; and the Cross was redeemed afterward by St. Lewis King of France, in pursuance of a grant that the Emperour Baldwin made to him of it.

The death of John de Bethune, and the dispersing of his army, was very bad news to Baldwin; but the mortgaging the Crown of Thorns of our blessed Saviour, that most precious relict, that was in the Chapel of the Palace of the Emperour, did trouble him very much; and judging by it that the French in the East were in very great straits, he took a resolution to go and succour them, and to quit France, where, if he staid any longer, he knew that the Empire would be lost. And to furnish him for the voyage, he mortgaged to St. Lewis his County of Namur, for fifty thousand livres Paris; and before he went, he assigned as dowry to Mary de Brenne his wife, who was at that time in Greece, the Seignioury of Blacon in the Diocese of Cambray, in the place of those Seigniouries in Namur, which were settled upon her in marriage: in that deed of his, which is signed at Blacon, in the month of June 1237, he stiled the heir of the Empire, and Count of Namur.

And this is certain, that he did not take upon him the Title of Emperour 'till after he was crowned, which gave occasion to the errour of some, who said that the Emperour Robert lived to the first year of Baldwin's reign. In the mean time the Count of Britain, who had crossed himself to go the assistance of Constantinople with two thousand foot and two thousand horse, changed his design, and resolved to go to the Holy Land with other Princes of France, who had before likewise promised to go into Greece. Nevertheless the army of Baldwin was pretty considerable for Alberick, who wrote of those times, says, that it consisted of 30,000 horse besides infantry, and that there were 700 knights that accompanied him in the voyage, with other great lords, amongst whom were Humbert the Fifth, Sire de Beaujean, his cousin, who was

afterwards Constable of France, Thomas de Coucy, Seigneur de Vervins, and others. He arrived safe with his army at Constantinople about the end of the year 1239, and was crowned in the month of December: and his army was encreased by Jonas and Sororius, Kings of Comenia, his allies, who joined their forces with his. He began the campaign with the seige of Chiorli, because it was a very important place, and made himself master of it.

John Vatacius, Emperour of Nice, made some progress at that time in Asia; but he had not so good success by sea as by land; for his fleet, which consisted of thirty gallies, was set upon by that of the Emperour Baldwin, and was intirely defeated. These advantages gave great hopes to the Emperour that he should establish his empire; but he found afterwards, that he was not able to maintain so great an army as he had, being joined by the Allies: he was forced therefore to accept a truce of two years which was offered him by Vatacius his enemy, and to alienate some part of his estate that he had in France to help his present necessities but St. Lewis the French King refused to give the investiture of the Seignioury of Courtenay to the Prince of Achaia, to whom he had sold it. And the King wrote to the Emperour a letter, in which he said, That he was surprized to hear, that he had made over to a stranger that Seignioury from which he took his name: Upon which the Emperour sent the Dean of Blakerne, his almoner, with a letter, in which he endeavoured to excuse himself; and because it displeased the King, he said he had altered his mind, and had settled his Seignioury of Courtenay upon Mary his wife, instead of other lands that he mentions in his letter, and desires the King that he would be pleased to confirm it.

During the truce that the Emperour made with Vatacius, the auxiliary troops that the Emperour had with him retired home, and Sororius King of Comenia left the Emperour, and took part with Vatacius his enemy; whereupon the Emperour finding himself in so great necessity, and in so great want of men and money, was forced to seek for help from the Infidels, and to make an alliance with Iathatin Sultan of Icon, his neighbour in Asia, one of the most powerful Princes among the Mahometans, who possessed Lycaonia, Capadocia, and the lesser Armenia, and who was an enemy to Vatacius. The Emperour and this Prince made a league offensive and defensive during their lives, and to make it the stronger and more lasting, the Emperour promised that he would endeavour that the Prince should have a kinswoman of his in marriage, provided that she and all her family should have the free exercise of their religion; and in order to perform this last articles he sends a gentleman to France with a letter to King Lewis's mother, in which he desired that she would endeavour to perswade his sister Elizabeth, who married Odo Seigneur de Mountague, to send one of her daughters but this did not take effects and this letter which the Emperour sent to King Lewis's mother, together with that which he sent to the King, and which we just before mentioned, are at large both in Latin at the end of Bouchet's History.

A little time after this the Emperour went again to France, and mortgaged to the French King all the holy relicks that were kept in the Chapel of the Palace of Constantinople, and they are all particularly named in the grant that the Emperour made of them to the King: As, 1. The Crown of Thorns, which was before mortgaged to a Venetian gentleman, as was said before. 2. A part of the Cross of our blessed Saviour. 3. The Blood, which in a wonderful and miraculous manner flowed from an

image of our blessed Saviour, which was struck by an Infidel. 4. The Chain with which our Saviour was bound made into a ring. 5. The Holy Cloth put into a frame. 6. A great part of the Sepulchre of our blessed Saviour. 7. The lace with which our blessed Saviour was pierced. 8. The Holy Cross, and another lesser Cross, which the Ancients called The Triumphal Cross, because in hopes of victory by it the Emperours did use to have it carried before them when they went out to battle. 9. The Purple Robe that the soldiers in derision did put upon our Saviour. 10. The Reed which they did put in his Hand. 11. The Sponge filled with vinegar, of which they gave him to drink. 12. Part of the napkin that was girt about our Saviour's Head, as did lie in the Sepulchre. 13. The Towel, with which he was girt when he washed the Disciples feet, and with which he did wipe them. 14. Some of the Blood of our blessed Saviour. 15. The Swaddling Clothes, with which our Saviour was wrapped when he was born. 16. Some of the milk of the blessed Virgin. 17. Moses's Rod. 18. The upper part of the head of St. John Baptist. 19. The heads of St. Blase, St. Clement, and St. Simeon. All these precious relicks, which had been pawned before to several persons, did St. Lewis the French King redeem for a great sum of money, and the Emperour made them over to him by a deed of gift, which deed in Latin is at large in the end of Bouchet, amongst the proofs of his History. But the Emperour, although he received a considerable sum money for these relicks from St. Lewis, yet was he forced to return to Constantinople, without the forces which he hoped to have had upon the news he received, that the truce being ended, Vatacius his enemy was entered Thrace, and had taken Chiorli. A little time after his arrival at Constantinople, he sent the Emperess his wife into France to get some succours from St. Lewis and other princes. But the King, with a great many of princes and nobles of France, were Just upon the point of going to the Holy Land, to war against the Infidels that had seized on that country; and therefore the Queen could not obtain any succours from them; wherefore the Emperour was forced to leave the campaign, and to abide in Constantinople, 'till the end of year 1255, when the death of Vatacius gave him leave to breathe a little; because his son and heir, Theodore Lascaris, was attacked both in Europe and Asia, in the beginning of the year following, by Michael King of Bulgaria, and by the Tartars, and therefore was forced to draw all his forces from Romania, to oppose these two potent enemies; and when the Greeks were retired from the dominions of the Emperour, he remained for some time in full liberty; but in the mean time, whilst he enjoyed peace in Constantinople, the Emperess his wife was raised by the rebellion of her subjects. The Emperess having ordered her steward to do justice upon some gentlemen of that country, that had committed some violences against her subjects, he was, as the Chronicle of Flanders says, slain in the execution of her orders. And when those that were guilty had lost all hopes of obtaining pardon for their crimes, (that they might defend themselves in their treason) they sent to Henry the First, Count de Luxemburg, and promised him, that they would put him in possession of the City of Namur, and would own him for their Lord; which being done, the Emperess, because she was not strong enough of herself to drive out the Usurper, who pretended some right to the Marquisate upon the account of his mother, she sent to her friends and relations for assistance, viz. to the Countess of Flanders, the Count de Joigny, and to other of her friends, and she herself raised some troops at

her own charges, of which her elder brother Alphonsus de Brenne, Count de Eu, and Grand Chamberlain of France, had the command. And the Countess of Flanders sent an army of Flemmings, under the conduct of her son John de Avesnes, instead of pressing the besieged, made a truce with them for five days, during which time he put neither provisions nor succours into the castle, which held them for the Emperess; which made the Count of Joigny suspect that he kept correspondence with the enemy, whereupon he drew off his forces, and marched them back to Champagne. But notwithstanding the truce, the Count de Luxemburg fell upon him in his retreat, and defeated his rear-guard, and forced the Emperess to raise the siege, and took the castle by composition, and in fine made himself master of the whole County of Namur; of which the Emperess seeing herself spoiled, and being without hopes of recovering it, sold her right to Guy Count of Flanders.

Baldwin the Emperour had not better fortune in the East than the Emperess his wife had in the West; for finding himself without forces at the death of Vatacius, he could not take that advantage that otherwise he might over Theodore Lascaris, who was employed in defending his own country; but he fell into so great necessity that he was forced to send his son as a pledge to some noblemen of Venice, for a sum of money which they lent him, and to make money of the lead which covered the churches and his palace, that he might be able to maintain his family, and the soldiers that he had for the defence of Constantinople and he gave Michael Paleologus, newly elected Emperour of Nice, an opportunity of making an attempt upon the capital city of all the Eastern Empire, after he had had good success with his army in Thessaly, where he defeated the despot of Epirus and Etolia, in the month of August, 1259.

A French gentleman ill affected towards the Emperour, being a prisoner to Paleologus, promised him to deliver up to him Constantinople, if he would advance with his army before its but when he was sent to, to make good his word, whether he was not able to do it, or whether he changed his mind, he sends to Michael Paleologus, that the Emperour had conceived some suspicion of his fidelity, and therefore he was put from keeping that gate, through which he purposed to have let him in: whereupon he retired to Asia, waiting for a care favourable opportunity. And in the mean time, that he might carry on his design the more privately, he makes a truce for one year with the Emperour, and as soon as he came to Nice he ratified it, in the month of September, 1260. But in the year following, he sent into Thessaly, with an army, Alexis Mellisent, sirnamed Strategolupus, one of the great lords of his court, and honoured him with the title of Caesar, and charged him, that in his passing by Constantinople he should inform himself of the condition of the place, that if there was an opportunity he might besiege it, as soon as the truce was ended. This Alexis in his march met with some soldiers, which did belong to Constantinople, and whom necessity had forced to go out into the country; and they gave him an account of the great misery of the city, the great want the French were in, and the weakness of the place. And he promised to give them a great reward if they would let him into the place; and they accepted the offers and promised him to do it; and he resolved to go upon the enterprises although it was contrary to the truce, and to the orders he had from his master. And when he came near the city,

every thing succeeded so well for him, that he entered the city the 25th or 26th of July, in the night, in the year 1261, fifty seven years, three months, and three days, after it had been conquered by the French. His army, part of which entered through a passage under ground, which was near the house where one of the soldiers dwelt that conducted the enterprise, on the side of the gate called Doree, and part sealed the walls on the same side; when they came in, they found no resistance neither in the streets, nor in the places of arms; and the consternation in the city was so great, that the army went on victorious. The Emperour having received the news of this disgrace, when he was at his palace of Blakerne, and having no other way of saving himself, puts himself in a vessel which carried him near the great palace, where the fleet that came from Daphnusie received him, and all the French that were willing to depart: and the number of them was so great, according to the Monk of Padua, that a great part of them died with hunger, before the fleet could arrive at Negropont, where the Emperour first landed: from thence he sailed to Apulia, and from thence he went to the Court of Mainfroy King of Naples and Sicily, from whence he sent ambassadours to Pope Urban IV. who published a crusade against Michael Paleologus, usurper of the Empire of Constantinople; and sent divers Nuncio's to the Kings of France, England, and Castile, to send succours to the Emperour Baldwin: but this produced nothing but bare hopes; and the Emperour was constrained to go himself into France, to solicit the Crusade, the effect of which he had waited four whole years in the court of King Mainfroy, and in that of the Pope. At his arrival, having found that Hugh IV. Duke of Burgundy, did design to cross himself for the recovery of the Empire, the Emperour promised him, by his letters patents, dated at Paris in the month of January, 1266, to furnish him before Whitsuntide with three millions of livres, to help to defray his charges in his voyager and the more to perswade him to continue in his design, he did give to him and his heirs the kingdom of Thessalonica, and many other Seigniouries expressed in the same letters: and he sends his ambassadours to other Christian princes, to perswade them to enter into a league for the recovery of the empire.

But when he had attempted it in vain, he resolved to have recourse to Charles Duke of Anjou, newly crowned King of Sicily, and to enter into an alliance with him, whose valour and glorious actions would strike terrour into all the East. For this end he went into Italy in the year 1267, and came to Viterbium, where Pope Clement IV. then kept his court; and King Charles was there at that time with the principal lords of his kingdom; and by the interposition of the Pope, they entered into a treaty the 27th day of May; and by that treaty, which is amongst the records of France, Charles the king does promise to send two thousand men at arms at his own charge, and to maintain them for one year in the empire, besides those that he will send into the principality of Achaia; and if the Emperour does yield to the King the sovereignty of the principality of Achaia, and the Morea; which principalities were held under the Emperour by William Villet-Hardouin, and that the same William Villet-Hardouin, and his successors, shall hold them of the King of Sicily, and his heirs, and none other. And grants likewise to him many lands and isles, depending upon the empire, that are mentioned in that treaty; and by that treaty it was agreed, that Philip, the son and heir apparent of Baldwin, should marry Beatrix, the daughter

of the King, as soon as she should be marriageable and in case that the Emperour and his son, and those that should be descended from him in a direct line, should; die without issue, then the right of the empire should devolve to Charles and his successors, King of Sicily. And in the same treaty the Emperour does oblige himself to do all that did lie in his power to obtain succours from other Christian princes, that by the help of them he might be able to recover the empire: and in order to it he went into France to implore the assistance of St. Lewis the French King, in the year 1268, and also of Thibauld King of Navarre, who had promised to serve in person, upon condition, that the Emperour should yield up to him the fourth part of his empire: but the city of Constantinople, and the country round, as far as a day's journey did reach, was to be excepted out of the grant.

The Emperess Mary also at the same time went into Spain, to endeavour to engage James King of Arragon, and Alphonsus King of Castille, her cousin-german, to do their endeavour to establish the Emperour her husband in the empire; and also to endeavour to obtain of them money for the redeeming Prince Philip her son, who was an hostage at Venice for the debts of the Emperour; but her voyage had no better effect than the treaties and projects of the Emperours whose ill-fortune rendered all that he did ineffectual. For St. Lewis being resolved to go into Africa, as he did in the year 1269, a great part of the nobles of France accompanied him in that voyage, and the King of Navarre, who had followed King Lewis, died the year following, as he returned into Sicily: and King Charles, who should have sailed to Epirus with the fleet that he equipped at Brundusium, sailed away for the coast of Tunis; and the Duke of Burgundy became sickly, so that he found himself not in a condition to undertake a voyage to Constantinople, which he had promised the Emperour. And the Emperour Baldwin died in the year 1272, being fifty five years old; and before his death deprived of an empire fatal to his family, He found it, when he first took possession of it, tending to its ruin, and attacked by powerful enemies; but he kept it a great while without forces sufficient, notwithstanding the great difficulties and necessities he was reduced to all the time of his reign, having oftentimes by his valour repaired the disgrace, which by his bad fortune he did from time to time receive, The time of the Emperess's death is not known, but it appears she was living in the year 1275; for because she could not in person render the attendance and service which she owed as Lady Dowager of Courtenay to the archbishop of Sens, when he made his first entrance into that city, she sent a gentleman in her place, with a letter dated that year, to excuse herself, which letter is at large in Buchet, The Emperour Baldwin left one, only son by his Emperess Mary de Brenne, named Philip de Courtenay, Emperour titular of Constantinople, who is to be the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER. V.

Philip de Courtenay, titular Emperour of Constantinople, was the son of the Emperour Baldwin; and although this prince was thirty years old when he succeeded to his father in his pretensions to the Empire of Constantinople, historians do not make mention of him 'till the year 1259, and then they say his father did send him as an hostage to some gentlemen of Venice, for some considerable sums of money which they lent him in his necessities. Some modern authors do write, that he had the title of King of Thessalonica during the life of his father; but, through a mistake, they have confounded him with Philip, second son of Charles I. King of Sicily; for in his seal which he put to two deeds, one in the year 1267, in the month of January, the other in the year 1269, he is only stiled Philip the eldest son of the Emperour of Constantinople, and heir of the same empire. His father having taken him out of the hands of his creditors, Charles the King of Sicily did assign to him, by this letters dated February the 9th, in the year 1269, six hundred ounces of gold yearly for his maintenance, that he might live according to his quality in the Kingdom of Naples 'till he should be married; and afterward he made a voyage into Spain to Alphonsus, King of Castille, and sometime after he consummated his marriage with the Princess Beatrix, who had been promised him, by the treaty of Viterbium; and the marriage was solemnized at Foggium, October 4, 1274. He ratified also at the same time the agreement that was made between the Emperour and his father, and King Charles, for the recovery of the Empire of Constantinople from Michael Paleologus, who at that time was favoured by Pope Gregory X. For that Grecian Prince, knowing the valour and good fortune of King Charles, in order to break their designs, was resolved to get the Pope on his side; and in order to it, he sent his ambassadours to the Council assembled at Lyons, for to swear obedience in his name, and in the name of the Greek Church; which thing succeeded so well for him, that the Pope did resolve in the Council, that the Empire of the East should remain to him, notwithstanding all the opposition that Philip and Charles made to it. But Innocent V. did afterwards equally consider, both the interest of the Emperour, and the interest of the church; and when he sent his Nuncio's to Michael to keep up the union of the Greek church with the Latin, he gave them orders to treat with him concerning the rights and possession of the Empire. Nicholas 111. did the same thing in the beginning of his Pontificate; and he writ, in the year 1278, to Michael, Philip, and Charles, to send their ambassadours with full power to treat with him, not only concerning a truce, as he had proposed to them by his Nuncio's, but also concerning a firm and lasting peace, But afterwards King Charles, not having answered the Pope's desire, which he had signified to him, that his niece might be married to one of King Charles's sons, he embraced the party of Michael, and conspired with him and the King of Arragon, to make a revolt in Sicily against King Charles. The Emperour writ to Buy Count of Flanders, his cousin, May 27, in the year 1280, that he had given power to Renaud de Maigny, Knight, to render to him, in his name, the homage that was due to him, for all the seigniouries, and lands, and rights which he possessed in his County of Flanders, and which did belong to him, as succeeding

his father; and this letter was sealed with his seal, that had on one side of it the Emperour sitting on his throne, with this Imperial Crown on his head, and on the other side he is sitting on a horse armed, the effigies of which is in Bouchet. Pope Nicholas III. died the 22d of August the same year: and Pope Martin IV. being chosen in his place the February following, the affairs of Philip were much changed for the better: for the new Pope knowing that Michael Paleologus had not true inclination to acknowledge the Pope to be head of the Greek Church, and all the pretences that he made were only to gain time, and to render the designs of Philip and Charles ineffectual, he excommunicated him as a Schismatick, and all other Christian Princes that had any commerce with him; and in the mean time got an alliance to be made between the republic of Venice, the Emperour Philip, and his father-in-law Charles, for to go to war conjointly against Michael. By this treaty it was agreed, that the Emperour and the King of Sicily, or the Prince of Salernum, his eldest son, should go in person into Romania against those that held and occupied the Empire, and that they should be accompanied with an army of eight thousand horse, and infantry proportionable and that the Duke of Venice should go in person with forty gallies wellmann'd to keep the sea, whilst the Emperour and the King should march against the enemy by land: and that they should all, in the month of April, 1283, be at Brundusium, to pass over to Romania; and that they should succour one another in all their enterprises, both against the usurpers of the Empire, and all other enemies] and it was agreed, that one without the consent of the others should not make a treaty of peace, or truce, with Paleologus, or with his heirs, or with any others that assisted him. And that they might keep Paleologus employed, they agreed to have at sea a certain number of men of war, seven months in the year: and that the Venetians should man out fifteen gallies, and the Emperour and the King the like numbers with large transports, and with this armament they should be at the Isle of Corsu, the first day of May the year following. According to this treaty, King Charles made great preparation for war; the Pope and all Italy contributed towards raising the army; and some historians do say, that in six months King Charles had at sea more than an hundred gallies, twenty large vessels, above two hundred transports to carry over the army; and more than two thousand horsemen, with a great number of infantry, and that he was accompanied in his voyage with forty Counts. But this great preparation, (the news of which had put the East into a consternation) had success quite contrary to the designs and hopes of the Emperour Philip and King Charles: for when the army was just ready to join with that of the Venetians at Corsu, the Sicilians, by an uncommon treachery, massacred all the French in the island, men, women, and children, and afterwards acknowledged the King of Arragon for their sovereign. This was done in the year 1282, and is called the Sicilian Vespers, because it was contrived to be done "hen the bell tolled to evening-prayers, or vespers. The King upon this was forced to turn his arms against the usurper, and to abandon the conquest of the Empire of Constantinople; and these disappointments, and the death of the Emperour Philip, which followed soon after, confirmed Paleologus and his family in the empire,

CHAPTER VI.

The Emperour Philip left one only daughter, named Catherine, which he had by Beatrix of Sicily his wife: and the Emperour at his death left her to the tutorage of Margaret of Burgundy, Queen of Sicily, second wife to King Charles his father-in-law: and in the year 1288, the Emperour Andronicus Paleologus, sent to demand her in marriage for Michael his eldest son of Robert Count de Artois, at that time regent of the realm of Naples, in the absence of King Charles II. then prisoner to the King of Arragon. Pope Nicholas IV. who had a design to renew the treaty of Union with the Greeks, which Pope Martin IV. had broken off, desires the Count of Artois, by two letters, that he would do his endeavour to make the alliance, because it was the sole means to put an end to the war between the Greeks and the Latins, and to unite the pretensions that were to the Empire in the person of her the presumptive heir: but this design did not take effect. And some time after King Philip le Bell, having acquainted the Emperess by his embassadours that her presence was necessary in France, in order to preserve the estates that she had there, she went to Paris in the year 1294. Charles King of Naples, her uncle, consented to her going, upon condition, that King Philip should send her back within one year to Italy; for he was afraid, that whilst she was in France she would espouse some Prince or other, that had not interest, nor power enough to undertake with him the conquest of the Empire of Constantinople; and before she went from Naples, she promised, by letter dated the 13th of May, that she would not marry without his consent; and is she did otherwise than what she promised, she would quit all claim to those agreements and bargains which were made in the several treaties between the Emperours Baldwin and Philip, and King Charles I. And in consideration of the great charges that the King his father had been at, in making preparations of war for recovering of the Empire, and also for the maintaining of the two Emperours whilst they were at Naples, where she also was bred up, she confirmed to him the gift which the two Emperours had made to his father King Charles I. of the Sovereignty of the principality of Achaia and the Morea. Surita says, in his Annals, that by the Treaty of Peace, which was made the 23d of June, 1295, by the mediation of Pope Boniface the VIIIth, between Charles II, King of Naples, James King of Arragon, and Ferdinand his brother, it was agreed, that the Emperess Catherine should espouse Ferdinand, upon condition that he should yield up Sicily to Charles; and that he, together with the Pope, should be obliged in four years to pay Ferdinand one hundred and thirty thousand ounces of gold, to help out his charges, that he should be at for the recovery of the Empire of Constantinople. Boniface sent a Nuncio into France to perswade the Emperess to consent to this marriage; and he desired King Philip le Bell, by divers letters, not to hinder it, because the peace did depend upon this alliance. But the Emperess did not think fit to marry such a Prince as Ferdinand, who, after he had resigned Sicily, had no estate, and the hopes of recovering the empire was very uncertain.

After this, Irene of Mountserratt, second wife of the Emperour Andronicus, demanded the Emperess Catherine in marriage for the despote, John Paleologus, her eldest son; but at last she agreed to marry with James, eldest

son of James de Arragon, first of that name, King of Majorca; as it appears by the Articles of Agreement passed between them, the 24th of June in the year 1299, with the consent and in the presence of King Philip le Bell, Queen Joan his wife, and many great nobles; but providence ordered it otherwise; for James de Arragon having preferred the religious habit of the Order of St. Francis before the Crown of Majorca, and Margaret of Sicily, first wife to Charles of France, Count of Valois, dying that same year, on the last day of December, the Emperess Catherine was espoused to the Prince, her cousin in the third degree; and the Pope by his bull dispensed with the marriage. The condition of the marriage was, that Count Charles should be obliged to help with sufficient forces, at his own charges, Charles King of Naples, against Ferdinand King of Arragon, who had taken Sicily from him; and that he should depart from France in February the year following for this enterprise. The Pope's bull was published by the Bishop of Amiens in the church of the Jacobins in Paris, the 28th day of January, 1301; and the same day, by an act passed at St. Cloud, in the presence of Margaret de Bourgogue, Queen-dowager of Sicily, the Count de Auxerre, and many other princes and princesses, the Emperess made a deed of gift to Charles Count de Valois of the Seigniouries of Courtenays, Blacon, Hellebeck, and Breuiller, for him to enjoy them during his life, if the marriage should be accomplished, and then to descend to their children and if she had no child, that he should enjoy them during his life, and that they should afterwards descend to her lawful heirs. And besides, she granted to him the whole right that she had in the Empire of Constantinople, and the County of Namur; and that after their lives they should descend to their heirs and descendants; but in case she had no children, then the Count and his children, which he had by his former wife, should succeed her. Histories do not mention the day when this marriage was celebrated, but we may be sure it was before the 8th day of February; for on that day the Count her husband was at St. Owen's near St. Denis, and Just upon the point of going to succour the Pope and the King of Sicily; and he promised Philip the French King, his brother, to return again to Constantinople without his permission. This prince, with the Emperess his wife, parted from Paris the beginning of June, accompanied with five hundred knights; and when he came to Italy, he was received by the Pope and cardinals with the honour that was due to his high birth and merit; and the Pope created him Vicar-general defender of the church, Count of Romania, and pacificator of Tuscany. Charles II, King of Sicily having come to meet him, ratified his marriage with the Emperess his niece, and acknowledged, by his letters patents of the 5th of September, that the marriage was made not only by his consent, which she was obliged to have, but by his advice and perswasion: the Pope likewise expedited a bull in favour of the Emperess, and declared, that neither they nor their successors should lose their right that they had in the Empire of Constantinople, by reason of the long time that had passed from the usurpation made by Michael Paleologus, and the turning out the Emperour Baldwin, the Emperess's grandfather, nor by reason of any time that shall pass until they shall recover the same, And this Bull is in Latin amongst the other records and writings at the end of Bouchet's History.

Modern authors do say, that in consequence of this bull the Pope crowned the Emperess in the Church of St. Peter in Rome, but authors that were co-temporary do not speak of any such thing; and they could not

have forgot to mention so considerable a thing, if it had been done. But this is certain, that the Count de Valois, and the Emperess his wife, did not go from Anagni in Italy, where he landed, 'till the month of October; and then the Count went to Florence, at the desire of the Pope, to make peace between the citizens of that republic, who had divided themselves into two factions, and he returned with success about the end of February the year following; and after that he went to Rome, where the King of Sicily attended him, for to conduct him to Naples, in order to begin the war against Ferdinand of Arragon. That Prince, having made some progress in Apulia and Calabria, abandoned all the conquests that he had made, upon the noise of the Count's coming; and the Count was in the beginning successful, and master of the field: but soon after, his army being infested with sickness, and being in great want of provisions, he was constrained to accept of a peace which was proposed to him by Ferdinand, and which was disadvantageous to him, and dishonourable.

The war being ended, the Count de Valois returns into France with the Emperess his wife; and being both at Sens, Sunday, March 24, 1303, they promised Robert Duke of Burgundy, and Agnes of France his wife, to give in marriage Catherine their daughter to Hugh their eldest son: the Duke and Dutchess also promised to give Joan their daughter to Philip the eldest son of the Count by his former wife. This treaty is found amongst the Charters of France, sealed with the Emperess's seal, in which is the effigies of the Emperess with the Imperial Crown on her heads and a scepter in her hand: but this treaty did not take effect; for Pope Clement V. and King Philip le Bell, did think that the Duke was not powerful enough to undertake so great an enterprize, as the conquest of the Empire of the East; she espoused therefore afterward Philip of Sicily, Prince of Tarentum, who took upon him the title of Emperour of Constantinople upon her account. The Emperess her mother had besides one son, who died young, and two daughters, Joan who was married to Robert of Artois, Count de Beaumont-le-Roger, and Isabel Abbess of Fonteurand, who died at Paris, Wednesday the 3d of January, 1308, as appears by an ancient register in the chamber of accounts.

After her death, the Count de Valois her husband renewed the design which he had in her life-time, of attempting the conquest of the Empire of Constantinople; and for that purpose he made an alliance with Vorose King of Russia and Servia; who obliged himself, in case the Count would go in person to Greece, to follow with an army at his own charger as it is in a treaty made in the Abbey de Lys near Melun, in which the Count is stiled Emperour of Constantinople: but this treaty did not take effect, no more than that which he made with the Venetians two years afterwards although all Europe was in expectation of such a glorious enterprize, seeing he was the most valiant and most generous prince of his time. But he preferred the authority and settlement that he had in France, before the hope of an uncertain crown, and contented himself to send some troops into Romania, under the conduct of Thibaut de Cepoy, as appeareth by an account of the charges of arming them, which was communicated to Monsieur Bouchet by Monsieur de Herouual. Sometime after, being at Poitiers with Pope Clement V. and King Philip le Bell, his brother, he contracted a marriage a third time with Maud daughter of Buy de Chastillon, Count of St. Paul, Butler of France, and of Mary de Britain his wife, and died the 16th day of December, 1325. It is said of this Charles Count of Valois, that he was a son to a king, brother to a king, uncle to a king, and father to a king, and yet he himself was no king.

And thus ended the first branch of the family of Peter de Courtenay, son of King Lewis le Grosse and Elizabeth his wife, And as the war in the Holy Land was very unfortunate to France, and other Christian kingdoms, so more especially to that branch of the elder House of Courtenay that seated itself in the East: for although that family signalized itself in that war, as much as any other family in Europe, yet at last the affairs of the Christians declining in the Holy Land, this family declined also, and at last was extinguished, about the time that the Christians lost the City Jerusalem. So in like manner, as the war in Constantinople was unfortunate to the French in general, so more particularly to the House of Courtenay descended from Peter of France; for they having had the honour to have the Empire in their family for three generations, spent all that they had in Europe; so by that means the grandeur of the family was much diminished; and hence it came to pass, that afterwards, when those of the royal blood come to be advanced above all others, and to have distinguishing marks put upon them, this Family of Courtenay, although it could not be denied that they were of the blood royal, yet could never obtain to be looked upon and esteemed as princes of the blood.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER I.

Peter de Courtenay, son of Lewis le Grosse and Elizabeth his wife, had, as was said before, 1. Peter Count de Nevers, and Emperour of Constantinople, of whose family we have treated in the first book. 2. Robert de Courtenay, Seigneur de Champignelles, etc. 3. William de Courtenay, Seigneur de Tanlay, etc. We come now to speak of Robert de Courtenay, first of that name, Seigneur de Champignelles, de Chasteau-Rennard, de Charney, etc. And this is the only son of Peter de Courtenay, whose posterity is continued down to our time: for the family of the elder brother, Count de Nevers, which possessed the Empire of Constantinople, lasted but for four generations, as we have seen; and it is above two hundred and forty years since, that the family of his younger brother, William Seigneur de Tanlay, ended. And we may say, says Monsieur de Bouchet, that providence made choice of this Robert de Courtenay, as well as Robert of France, Count de Clermont, sixth son of St. Lewis the King, to perpetuate the royal family. And of the three branches that proceeded from Lewis le Grosse, viz. of Bourbon, of Dreux, and of Courtenay, which have produced many kings that reigned in France, in Italy, in the kingdom of Naples, and Sicily, in Hungary, in Poland, and in Navarre, as also a great number of princes, there are but two of them remaining at this day, viz. that of Bourbon that holds the scepter, and that of Courtenay.

In the year 1197, Robert de Courtenay confirmed to the Abbey of Fontain-Jean that which Peter of France his father had given; and that which Peter, Count de Nevers, and William de Courtenay, his brothers had afterwards ratified. And a little time after he espoused Mahun, the only daughter of Philip Seigneur de Mahun-sir-Yevre, and de Selles in Berry.

A little time after his marriage, King Philip, surnamed Augustus, his cousin-german, gave him the seigniouries of Conches and Nonancourt, in the diocese of Eureau in Normandy, upon condition, that if he died without issue, they should revert to the crown. And sometime after Pope Innocent III. being about to raise a tax in France, against the ancient usage, and the liberties of the Gallican church, this Prince Robert was one of the nobles that counselled the King to oppose his, and not to obey the Pope, or any of the clergy that did favour his enterprize.

And because by his birth he was one of those that were chiefly concerned to defend the right of the Crown, he promised the King, being at Chinon in the month of June, 1205, that in case the Pope did come over to France, and act against his subjects in any other manner that has been used in the time of his predecessors, that he would join with the other barons of France to hinder his design; which pleased the King, and he promised not to agree to any thing with the Pope, but with the consent of the barons of his realm. But this generous resistance of Robert de Courtenay against the head of the church, did not diminish any thing of that piety with which his actions were accompanied for we may learn by the History of Peter, Monk of the Abbey de Vaux in Cernay, that in the year 1210, he took up arms for the defence of the faith against the Albigenses, and that he came to Lanquedoc about Christmas, with a great many other nobles, and returned with them to France, after the taking the de Lanaur, where during the siege he endeavoured with a great deal of zeal, although it proved in vain, to persuade the Count of Tholouse, his cousin-german, infected with the heresy of the Albigenses, to return to the church. And being at Lorris, in the month of March 1212, he gave to the priory of Nostre-Dame de Flotain, in favour of Blanche of Castille, wife of Prince Lewis, afterward King by the name of Lewis VIII. the sum of twelve pounds six shillings Paris, of rent, to be taken out of the revenue of Chasteau-Rennard, on the octave of St. Remy every year, for the celebrating daily one mass in hour of the Virgin Mary, as the Princess Blanche desired it, and after his decease for the good of his soul.

In the year 1216, in the month of October, William Count de Sancerre, his brother-in-law, with the consent of Blanche Countess of Champagne, chose him to be guardian of his children, and his Countess, whilst he was beyond sea, where he was about to accompany Peter de Courtenay, Count de Auxerre, who went to take possession of the Empire of Constantinople; but the Emperour being taken prisoner in the way by Theodore Commenius, Pope Honorius III. chose this prince for to command the crusade, which he had ordered the Clergy of France to send, in order to put him at liberty, as Rainoldus

in his Ecclesiastical Annals does observe, in the year 1217, And two other authors do say, that in that same year he embarked for to pass into England with some troops, to help Prince Lewis of France his cousin, who had forced, by the persidiousness, as Bouchet says, of the English, who chose him for their king, to fortify himself in London, after a defeat of a great part of his army in a battle at Lincoln: but he being set upon by many ships of the English upon the sea, on St. Bartholomew's Day, was taken prisoner, after a long and stout resistance, and all that were with him, of whom some were put to death: but he was not prisoner above nineteen or twenty days; for there was a treaty of peace made September 11, between Prince Lewis and King Henry III, and in that it was agreed, that all the prisoners on both sides should be set at liberty.

In the month of January, 1219, he gave some lands with the consent of Princess Mahud his wife, for the endowment of a new parish church, which at his request the Arch-Bishop of Sens gave leave to be erected in a village near Champignelles, This Prince Robert did another act of piety in honour of St. William Arch-Bishop of Bourges, uncle to the Princess Elizabeth de Courtenay his mother, whom Pope Honorius III. had canonized in the year 1218; for in honour to his memory, he gave to the Church of St. Stephen in Bourges, in the month of April,

1223, with the consent of Princess Mahud his wife, two pounds of yearly rent, to be paid out of his lordship of Mehun, for to maintain a lamp to burn both night and day before the corpse of that illustrious saint. And a little time after, King Philip Augustus dying, his son and successour, Lewis VIII. having a particular love and great esteem for Prince Robert, conferred on him the place of Butler of France, which is the second place in the kingdom, and which had been void for two years by the death of Guy de Senlis: and, as Butler of France, did he, with other princes of the blood and grandees of France, on the 8th of November, 1223, take an oath to observe the ordinance made by the King against the Jews, as Du Tillet does observe. And several charters signed by him, as Butler of France, do testify, that he accompanied the King in his voyage to Poictou, in the year 1224; and he was at the siege and taking of Niort, of St. John de Angely, and Rochelle; and about the end of the same year, he assisted, by an order of the court, in quality of an officer of the Crown, in a judgment given by the peers against Joan Countess of Flanders, for John de Neelle, appellant. And the grandees of France being called together to Paris, in the year 1220, so to counsel the King in a design that he had to go in person to war against the Albigenses, he was one of those that approved of that generous resolution and that did promise to follow the King, and to serve under him during the time of the war: and before the King went, he gave Prince Robert a new mark of his favour; for he promised, if the Prince died before his son came of years, to take possession of the lands that he had in Normandy, and to keep them for his heir; the original of which promise of the King is in Latin amongst the records of the Castle de Cheillon.

After this Prince Robert gave to the Abbey of Fontain-jeans with the consent of Princess Mahud his wife, a certain quantity of corn, to be taken yearly from his Seignioury of Charney, as also a great quantity of wine to be had yearly from his vine of Vermenton, to serve for bread and wine for the celebration of the masses in that monastery, founded by his predecessors, and which he chose for the place of his burial.

In the beginning of June he was in Languedoc with the King, who besieged the City of Avignon, and reduced that and the whole province in four months to his obedience, excepting the city of Thoulouse, which he had resolved to attack next campaign, if death had not prevented his design; for he died the 8th of November, in the Castle of Montpensier in Auvergne, of a dysentery, where he had retired from Paris by reason of his sickness.

St. Lewis the King having called the grandees of his realm to St. Denis, in the month of September, 1235, to receive their advice about the encroachments of the prelates upon the King's courts of justice, Prince Robert was in that famous assembly, and together with the rest did sign a letter to the Pope upon the subject.

In the year, 1237, the Prince by his infirmities finding that his death was not far off, to prevent all feuds and animosities among his children, divided his estate, and allotted to every one their part, by a deed made in the month of March, before the officials of Bourges; and at the same time he founded the Abbey of Beavoir near his town of Mehun, where he put religious of the Cistercian Order. He was with the King at Compienne in the month of June that same year, where he subscribed, as Butler of France, to letters of confirmation of the appennage of Robert Count de Artois: but his piety and his courage made him to pass beyond the sea, for to help the Christians in the Holy Land, with Thibaut

King of Navarre, Peter Count of Britain, and many other great Princes; and he died there in the year 1239. The Princess Mahud his wife was alive in the year 1240; but the time of her death is not known.

The children of Robert de Courtenay, first of that name, Seigneur de Champignelles, and of Mehun his wife, were;

1. Peter de Courtenay, first of that name, Seigneur de Conches, de Mehun-sur-Yerre, de Selles, de Chasteau-Rennard, etc.

2. Philip de Courtenay, to whom Robert his father gave for his partage, in the year 1227, the Seignioury of Champignelles, etc. Matthew Paris observes, that in the year 1245, he took upon him the cross, to go succour the Christians in the Holy Land, with the Count de Artois, the Duke de Burgogne, and many other great princes; but he died a little after without taking the voyage, and without being married, and had for his successor, in the lands of Champignelles, his young brother William, and in those of Chasteau-Rennard and Charney, his elder brother Peter.

3. Raoul de Courtenay, third son of Robert de Courtenay, was Seigneur de Illiers in Auxerrois, and had other seigniouries.

4. Robert de Courteney, the fourth son, was designed for the church in his youth, and for that reason he is called clerk in the partage of his estate that his father made between his brother and him. His father left him for his appennage but five hundred livres of rent, to be taken from the Barony of Conches; but after that he had part of the Seignioury of Baillet, and was possessed wholly of that of Damville and Nonancourt. It appears by an ancient register in the chamber of accounts, that he had his brother John, both ecclesiasticks, received an order to be at Chinon, April 28, 1242, to serve the King St. Lewis against the Count de La March: he was in the year 1251, dean of Chartres, as appears by a charter in the Abbey of Du Val, near the Isle Adam. And, according to William of Naugis, he was elected Bishop of Orleans, after the death of William de Buffy, in the year 12581 and he assisted in that quality in the year following, at the contract of marriage of his niece Amicia de Courteney with Robert 11. Count de Artois. Afterwards he accompanied the King St. Lewis in his voyage to Africa; and ten days after the death of that Prince, he paid his homage to the new King, Philip, in the camp before Tunis, for the Seigniouries of Damville and Nonancourt; and he gave that which he had at Vermenton for to adorn the choir of his Episcopal Church, and died on Friday the 8th of August, in the year 1279.

5. John de Courteney, fifth son of Robert, Butler of France, was also designed for the church, and was Canon of Chartres in the year 1251, and Arch-Deacon of Paris. The year after his brother Robert was made Bishop of Orleans, he procured for him a Canon's Place in that church, and the dignity of Chancellour. And in the year 1264, Thomas de Beaumez, Arch-Bishop of Rheims, his cousin, dying, his great merit and high birth obliged the chapter to chose him for successor but because William de Bray, a cardinal of France, by the title of Cardinal of St. Mark, and Arch-Deacon of the Church of Rheims, was named with him, Alphonsus de France, Count de Poitiers and de Tholouse, brother to St. Lewis, writ to the Pope in favour of Prince John de Courtenay, his cousin; which had so good an effect, that Prince John was preferred before the Cardinal, and was consecrated Arch-Bishop of Rheims in the year 1266, and sat there till the year 1271, in which year, August 20, he died,

6. William de Courtenay, sixth son of Robert, was the first of that name, Seigneur de Champignelles, Baillet, Cloyes, etc. and was he that continued

the Family of Courtenay, as we shall shew in the third part of this book.

7. Mahud de Courtenay, the eldest daughter of Robert espoused, before the year 1220, Lewis, first of that name, Count de Sancerre.

8. Isabel de Courtenay, second daughter of Prince Robert, was married after the year 1224, to Renaud de Montsaucon in Berry, but he died without issue; and she married, about the year 1242, John first of that name, Count de Burgogne and de Chalon, surnamed the Wise.

CHAPTER II.

Peter de Courtenay, first of that name, Seigneur de Conches, etc, eldest son of Prince Robert, espoused Petronell de Joigny, daughter of Gaucher de Joigny, Steward de Nivernois, and Amicia de Montfort, niece to Amaury the fifth, Count de Montfort and Tholouse, Duke of Narbonne, and Constable of France.

In the year 1248, he went into the East to make war against the Infidels; and being in the Isle of Cyprus the year after with the King St. Lewis; he did homage to him for the lands which fell to him by the death of Gaucher de Joigny, the only brother of his princess, who died in the island: and he died in Egypt, in a battle that was between the Christians and the Infidels, on Tuesday, February 81 1250. He had one daughter named Amicia de Courtenay, who was espoused to Robert the only son of Mahud Countess de Artois, nephew to St. Lewis, on Friday, June 13, in the year 1259, in the presence of the King, the Countess Mahud, the Princess Petronell de Joigny her mother, Robert de Courtenay Bishop of Orleans, Raoul John, William de Courtenay, her uncles, and Simon de Montfort, her great-uncle by the mother's side; but by reason of their minority, the marriage was not consummated until the year 1262. She went with her husband into Africa in the year 1270, where St. Lewis the King was gone before; and there Prince Robert her husband gave signal proofs of his valour, in several encounters with the Saracens: afterwards Prince Robert went into Naples to visit King Charles his uncle, and there he staid some time; and as he was returning into France with the Princess Amicia his wife, who accompanied him in that voyage also, she died at Rome in the year 1275, and was buried with great pomp and solemnity in the Church of St. Peter.

Raoul de Courtenay, third son of Robert de Courtenay, was, as was said before, Seigneur de Illiers, and other Seigniouries. Father Labbe, the Jesuit, does say, in his GENEALOGICAL TABLES OF THE FAMILY OF FRANCE, that in the year 1247, he sold his land of Illiers to Robert de Courtenay his brother, who was afterwards Bishop of Orleans: and it appears by several writings, that he married Alice de Montfort, whose family was very famous for its noble ancestors, and the great alliances that they made, Charles of France, Count de Anjou and Provence, brother to St. Lewis, having enterprized the conquest of the realm of Naples, Raoul, or Ralph of Courtenay, was one of those that followed him for the execution of such a glorious design, and he did receive great marks of the Count's esteem

and liberality, after he had overcome Conradine; for he made him Count of Chieti, the chief city of Abruzzo within, first named Thetis by its founders, in honour of the mother of Achilles, and afterwards Theate, Teata, and Theatina by the Greeks and Latines. He was made Count of Chieti in the year 1269; but he did not long enjoy it, for he died in the year 1271; he left one daughter named Mahaut de Courtenay, Countess de Chieti, and she stiled herself in some writings Matildis de Courtiniaco, Comitissa de Theatina, Charles King of Naples and Sicily having resolved to marry her to Philip the youngest son of Guy Count of Flanders, for whom he had a great esteem, sent ambassadours to his father to propose the marriage to him, and it was concluded in the castle of Winendale in the year 1284; and presently after Philip went to Naples to espouse her; and being embarqued in one of the Gallies that the Tuscans had armed, in order to make a descent upon Sicily, he was taken prisoner by Roger de Loria, admiral of the fleet of the King of Arragon, but it appears by several writings, that he was set at liberty before the year 1288; for he was then returned in Flanders, but his Countess died in Italy in the year 1300.

CHAPTER III.

William de Courtenay, first of that name, Seigneur de Champignelles, etc. was, as was said before, sixth son of Robert de Courtenay: his father had designed him for the church, and for that reason he is stiled clerk, together with his two brothers, in the partition of the estate made in the year 1237; but he became Seigneur de Champignelles by the death of Philip his second brother, in whose place he was put; and he renounced all the advantages which his high birth could make him hope for in the ecclesiastical state, to follow a military life, as being more agreeable to his inclination and courage. Some time after, considering that his family was just going to be extinct, seeing his eldest brother that died in the East left only one daughter very young, and that Philip the second brother died without issue, and that Raoul the third brother was dead and left only one daughter, he being willing to perpetuate such a noble and illustrious family, married, about the year 1252, Margaret de Chalon, the widow of Henry de Brienne, Seigneur de Venesy, who died in Egypt, whether he accompanied the King St. Lewis in the year 1250. She was the daughter of John the First, Count de Chalon, descended in the male line from Berenger II. King of Sicily.

This Prince William accompanied the King St. Lewis into Africa to make war against the Infidels; and we find that he had six knights that followed him, and that he had two thousand two hundred livres for their pay. After his return he confirmed the sale that Robert his brothers Bishop of Orleans, made of the Seignioury of Nonancourt, to Peter de la Broce, the King's chamberlain; and gave in Mortmain to the Abbey du Val, near the Isle Adam, certain lands that he possessed in the Seignioury of Baillet: and being very religious and courageous, he crossed himself for to go and succour the Christians in the Holy Land, with Philip the Hardy, King of France, in the year 1276; but that monarch being obliged in the mean time to declare war against Alphonsus X. King of Castilla,

for the interest of his sister, Prince William de Courtenay accompanied him to Sauueterre sur-le-Gaue d'Oleron, where the army was to rendezvous, with which the King was to enter Spain. And Prince William, before he went, to shew some marks of his piety and virtue, did order his heirs, by his will made Tuesday, September 10, to repair all the injuries and wrongs that they could find he had done, and to pay all his debts, without any diminution and he gave a great deal to pious uses, to several churches, abbeys, and hospitals, which Bouchet in his History does particularly mention; and ordered, that if he died in France, that they should bury him in the Abbey of Fountain-jean, to which Abbey he gave a considerable sum; but it is not known when he died; though it is certain that he did not live beyond the beginning of the year 1280, and that he was buried at Fountain-jean in the burying-place of his ancestors. He had a second wife named Agnes de Tocy, but had no children by her.

The children of William de Courtenay, first of that name, Seigneur de Champignelles, etc. and Margaret de Chalon, his first wife, were,

1. Robert de Courtenay, who preferred the ecclesiastical state before his right, as elder brother, to the Seignioury of Champignelles, and other Seigniouries and honours. He was present at the agreement made the Tuesday after the Feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist, in the year 1280, between the Abbot and his religious of Fountain-jean, and the inhabitants of Champignelles, which was made in favour of the Abbey. He was about the year 1290 made Canon of Rheims: some time after his high merit advanced him to the high dignity of Arch-Bishop of Rheims, which happened in the year 1300: he held a provincial council at Compienne on Friday, January 2, 1304. Belleforrest in his Annals does say, that he was one of the four Princes of the Blood-royal that assisted at the marriage of Edward II. King of England, then Prince of Wales, with Isabel of France, daughter of King Philip le Belle, in the year 1309; and he had the honour to consecrate in his own cathedral, Sunday, August 24, in the year 1315, King Lewis XI surnamed Hutin. By the order of that king he called an assembly of his suffragans and other bishops to Senlis, for to examine the cause of Peter de Lotilly, Bishop of Chalons in Campagne, and Chancellour of France, suspected of being the cause of the death of his predecessor, as also of King Philip; but there being not Bishops enough according to the Canon, he called a National Council to meet May 15, the year following, which was put off to Monday, July 26; but King Lewis Hutin died before the Council had given sentence who declared the Bishop of Chalons innocent. Prince Robert de Courtenay had also the honour to put the crown upon the head of King Philip V. surnamed the Long, Thursday, January 6, in the year 1317; he consecrated also King Charles IV. surnamed le Bell le Bell, Sunday, February 21, in the year 1322, and died the 2d of March in the year 1323. According to his will, which he made in the year 1314, he was buried near the high altar of his cathedral church, in the same place where John de Courtenay, Arch-bishop of Rheims, his uncle, was interred, under a tomb of marble, upon which is to be seen his effigies which is there represented in his pontifical habit, with the arms of Courtenay, and with the Fleur de Lys's therein, as a mark of his royal extraction; a copy of which Bouchet has in his History.

2. John de Courteney, first of that name, Seigneur de Champignelles, etc. was second son of William Seigneur de Champignelles and Margaret de Chalon; and he continued the family of Courteney, as shall be seen in the next chapter.

3. Peter de Courtenay was the third son of William de Courtenay: he was born about the year 1269, and was a minor of about fourteen years old when his sister Margaret de Courtenay was married to the eldest son of Raoul de Estrees, Mareschal of France. After the death of his father he endeavoured in Parliament to make void the agreement made in that marriage, because he said it was disadvantageous to him: but by an arrest made in Parliament about Whitsunday 1282, his demand was rejected; because, as the arrest says, the marriage was made in the presence of the King, and by his approbation; and that the agreement made was no way injurious to him: he died without being married, and his succession was parted between his brothers Robert and John de Courtenay, on the Feast of St. Denis, October 9, in the year 1290.

4. Isabel de Courtenay, eldest daughter of William de Courtenay and Margaret de Chalon, his first wife: she was married to William de Bourbon, first of that name, Seigneur de Becay.

5. Margaret de Courtenay; she was married by her father in the year 1272 or 73, in the presence of King Philip the Hardy, with the eldest son of Raoul de Bores, sirnamed de Estree, Mareschal of France; but he dying without issue, about the year 1282, she espoused afterward Renaud de Trio, the son of Matthew Seigneur de Trie, Count de Dammartin.

CHAPTER IV.

John de Courtenay, first of that name, Seigneur de Champignelles, etc, his eldest brother being devoted to the church, and his younger dying unmarried he was the only son of William de Courtenay, Seigneur de Champignelles, that continued the family. This John de Courtenay espoused Jane de Sancerre, the only daughter and heir of Stephen\$ second of that name, Seigneur de St. Bricon, and de Perenelle St. Milly. Stephen Count de Sancerre, her cousin-german, Robert de Courtenay, Canon of Rheims, and other great Princes, were present at the marriage. In the year 1296 he rendered homage to John Bishop of Nevers for the Barony of Decours-les-Barres, upon the account of which he was one of the four Barons of Nivernois, who are bound to carry the Bishop, when he makes his first entry into his city, from the Church of St. Martin to that of St. Cyre. In the year 1303, King Philip le Bell having resolved to succour Tournay, that was besieged by the Flemmings, Prince John de Courtenay was one of the Grandees of the Realm which accompanied him in that expedition; and he was at the Battle of Mons in the year 1304, with many Knights in his retinue. He was, about the year 1306, Governour of the temporalities of the Arch-Bishop of Rheims his brother, as appears by a petition made to him by the clergy of the town of Monsoin. In the year 13085 his wife Jane de Sancerre fell sick, and he gave her leave to make her will, which she did on Wednesday, January 10, that year; in which she ordered, that her body should be interred in the Church of Champignelles near the Altar of St. John Baptist: she gave three hundred livres Turnois for Mass to be said for herself and Price John her husband for ever: she gave many legacies; as to the Abbey of Fontain-jean, to the Church of St. Stephen in Sens, to the Church

of St. Bricon, to the church of Cours-les-Barres, to that of Autry, St. Martin, St. Firmin-sur-Loire, of Courtenay, and Mareleville; to the Cordeliers of Nevers, to many of her domesticks, to the nurses of Robert and Philip de Courtenay her children; and named for the executors of this last will the Arch-Bishop of Sens, her husband, and John de Courtenay her eldest son; but it is not certain that she died of that sickness though it is evident she did not live after the month of April 1313. And Prince John, who founded two Vicarages or chapels in the year 1318, died the same year, before the month of December.

The children of John de Courtenay, first of that name, Seigneur de Champignelles, etc. and Jane de Sancerre his wife, were,

1. John de Courtenay, second of that name, Seigneur de Champignelles.

2. Philip de Courtenay, Seigneur de la Ferte Lupiere; an account of whose posterity we shall find in the seventh book.

3. Robert de Courtenay, who was first Canon of Rheims and Sens, and afterwards Provost of the Church of Lisle in Flanders; he died February the 16th, according to the Martyrology of Nostre-Dame de Soissons, but it does not tell what year,

4. William de Courtenay; he was Canon and Vidame of Rheims, and also Canon of Montsaucon; and had in the division of his father's estate one hundred thirty seven livres four sols of annual rent, to be taken out of the land of Ferte Lupiere.

5. Stephen: he was Canon and Provost of the church of Rheims: he had for his portion one hundred thirty seven livres out of the Seignioury of Ferte Lupiere. Hugh d'Arcy, Arch-Bishop of Rheims, dying in the year 1352, the Chapter elected him in his plaser an because his eminent virtues had got him the good-will both of the clergy and the people, the magistrates of the city wrote to Pope Clement VI. for to confirm the election, which letter is at large in Bouchet's History: but he did not enjoy that honour which his merit and high blood had procured for him, for he died before he was confirmed in it, November 71 1352, according to the Martyrology of Nostre-Dame de Soissons, and had for his heir Philip de Courtenay his brother.

6. Peter de Courtenay; he was designed for the church, but he afterwards leaving the design, became Seigneur d'Autry, Cours-les-Barres, Villeneuve des Senets: he married Margaret de la Loupiere, and died the 7th of September, as the Martyrology of Nostre-Dame de Soissons does say, but the year is omitted. He was the father of one only daughter, named Joan de Courtenay, Lady d'Autry, etc. who married John de Beaumont, Seigneur de Condray in Berry.

7. Joan de Courtenay: she had for her portion one hundred thirty seven livres rent, and was a religious in the Monastery of Nostra- Dame de Soissons, in the year 1318, according to the Martyrology of that places where she is named with John, Robert, Philip, Peter, and Stephen de Courtenay her brothers; and she died the 6th of March, but the year is not mentioned.

CHAPTER V.

John de Courtenay, second of that name, Seigneur de Champignelles, etc. was the eldest son as was said, of John de Courtenay, first of that name, Seigneur de Champignelles: he divided his father's estate with his brothers and sisters, and also the estate that came by his mother, and had for his share the lands of Champignelles and St. Bricon, for which he did homage to the Count de Sancerre, Friday after the Feast of All-Saints in the year 1327: he died Sunday the 14th of December, 1334. Margaret de St. Verain his wife remained tutoress to his children, and in that quality she did homage to the Count de Sancerre for the lands of St. Bricon, Friday after the Feast of St. Peter and St. Paul, in the year 1335, and she lived a considerable time after her husband.

The children of John de Courtenay, second of that name, Seigneur de Champignelles and St. Bricon, and Margaret de St. Verain, Dame de Bleneau, were,

1. John de Courtenay, third of that name, Seigneur de Champignelles and St. Bricon, who died without issue; of whom we shall speak in the next chapter.

2. Peter de Courtenay, Seigneur de Bleneau, who continued the succession, and who succeeded his brother in the Seigniouries of Champignelles and St. Bricon.

3. Alice de Courtenay, who is named with her brothers in an arrest of the Court of Parliament, in the year 1348 but to whom she was married it is not known.

CHAPTER VI.

John de Courtenay, third of that name, Seigneur de Champignelles and St. Bricon, was very young when his father died, as divers deeds do testify; and he, his brother, and sister, were under the tutorage of their mother: but it appears by an arrest of Parliament that he was of age June 26, 1344, when the City of Guines was surprized by the English. This Prince was one of those that were commanded by the King to make war in Picardy with Geoffry de Charny, a general of consummate experience he was also at the terrible Battle of Poictou, in the year 1356, according to Vilani, who puts him among the slain, through a mistake: and in a treaty made at Calais, October 24, 1360, King John gave him, amongst other French nobles, for an hostage to the King of England, until he had, according to the treaty, surrendered to him the County of Ponthieu. And when the war with the English was kindled again in the Reign of Charles V. this same Prince, John de Courtenay, made himself famous in many encounters for the defence of his country. In the year 1368, he married Margaret de Thianges, but he had no child by her, and died in the month of June 1392, and was buried in the Church of Champignelles; and had for his successor Peter de Courtenay, Seigneur de Bleneau, his younger brother.

CHAPTER VII.

Peter de Courtenay; second of that name, Seigneur de Champignelles, St. Bricon, de Bleneau, etc. continued the successions he served King John in the wars which he had with the English; and he got by his valour the honour of knighthood, before the year 1361. Under the reign of Charles V. he appeared again in arms for the defence of his country; and he accompanied Philip of France, Duke of Burgogne, with eighteen esquires, when he was sent to the frontiers of Picardy with the forces of the King his brother to oppose the Duke of Lancaster, who landed an army at Calais in the month of July 1369. In the year 1382 he accompanied King Charles VI. when he went to succour Lewis Count of Flanders against his subjects that were in rebellion. And he was in the famous Battle of Roosbecque, in which more then twenty five thousand Flemmings were left dead upon the place. Afterward falling sick in his Castle of Champignelles, he made his will, Friday, March 12, 1395, and chose for the place of his burial the Church of Champignelles, near his elder brother John, and left the ordering of all those things that he appointed in his will to his wife, whom he stiles Noble Dame Agnes de Melun.

The children of Peter de Courtenay, second of that name, Seigneur de Champignelles, and Agnes de Melun his wife, Lady de Esprenne, were,

1. Peter de Courtenay, third of that name, seigneur de Champignelles.
2. John de Courtenay.
3. Mary de Courtenay, who was married in the year 1399 with William de Grange, son of Thibaut, Seigneur de Orange in Brie, Knight.
4. Agnes de Courtenay: she was married twice; first to a gentleman called Monsieur de Brion, and in a second marriage to John de St. Julien, Seigneur de Mairroy.
5. Anne de Courtenay, who was under the tutorage of her mother in the year 1396; but she died, or was a religious, before the year 1415, because there is no mention made of her in the division of her father's estate.

CHAPTER VIII.

Peter de Courtenay, third of that name, Seigneur de Champignelles, etc. by his merit and valour, obtained from Charles VI. the dignity of knighthood, and was counsellour and chamberlain in ordinary to the King, which places were looked upon as very honourable.

His mother perswaded him to marry Joan Braque, the only daughter and heir of Blanchet Braque, Knight, Seigneur de St. Maurice-sur-Laveron, master of the houshold to Charles VI. But this marriage was not of long continuance, for he died in the beginning of the year 1411, and his widow being left the mother of one only son, married again, September the 6th, 1418, with John the second, sirnamed Lurdin, Seigneur de Saligny.

The only son of Peter de Courtenay, third of that name, Seigneur de Champignelles, etc, and of Joan Braque his wife, was, John de Courtenay, fourth of that name, Seigneur de Champignelles, etc. an account of whom shall be in the next chapter.

CHAPTER IX.

John de Courtenay, fourth of that name, Seigneur de Champignelles, etc. in the year 1435, married with Isabel de Chastillon: and in the year 1441 he was at the Seige of Pontoise, where the King was in person. Afterward, having lost the Princess Isabel de Chastillon his wife, who died without issue, he married Margaret-David, widow to Stephen de Vignolles, surnamed la Hire, Seigneur de Montmorillon. He accompanied the King to Normandy, when he undertook to drive the English thence, and to reduce that province to his obedience; and was one of those that accompanied the King when he made his entry into the City of Louviers, after the taking of Vernevil, about the month of August 1449; and having spent all his estate in the wars, he retired to Chastillon-sur-Loing, where being taken sick, he made his will the first day of August, 1472. And by his will he ordered, that his body should be buried in the Collegiate Church of St. Peter in that places before the Alter of the Blessed Virgin, and gave six pounds Turnois to the Chapter for the Right of Burial; he gave twenty Sols Turmois to the Curate of Chastillon for the pains he had taken with him during his sickness; and he gave what was left, after his legacies were paid, to Peter Courtenay his natural son, and died without lawful issue, although he had been married twice; and without any estate, although he had been possessed of a great many Seigniouries; and for his consuming of his great estate, he had the name given him of John sans Terre.

BOOK III.

CHAPTER 1.

John de Courtenay, second of that name, Seigneur de Bleneau, was the second son of Prince Peter de Courtenay, second of that name, Seigneur de Champignelles, and of Agnes de Melun his wife; and this is he that continued the family; his mother was his tutoress in the year 1396. The Seignioury of Bleneau was given him for his part of his father's estate, when it was divided between him, his sisters Mary and Agnes, and his nephew John de Courtenay, Seigneur de Champignelles. He married, in the month of January 1424, with Catherine de Lospital, daughter of Francis de Lospital, Knight, Seigneur de Soisy, counsellour and chamberlain to the King. He died in the year 1460; and by his will ordered, that a monument should be erected for him in the choir of the Church of Bleneau, in which he is represented fitting upon a war-horse, with all his trappings upon him; and on them, according to his order, are put three coats of arms; 1. That of Courtenay with that of his mother; 2. That of Courtenay with that of his grand-mother; 3. That of Courtenay with that of his great-grand-mother, which were, de Melun, de Verain, and de Sancerre.

The children of John de Courtenay, second of that name, Seigneur de Bleneau, and of Catherine de L'ospital his wife, were,

1. John de Courtenay, third of that name, Seigneur de Bleneau, who continued his posterity.
2. William de Courtenay; he had for his portion the Seignioury of Croquetaine in Brie; he married a lady called Antoniette des Marquets, and had by her two daughters, Antoniette de Courtenay, and Charlotte de Courtenay.
3. Peter de Courtenay; he was Seigneur de la Ferte Lupiere, etc, and account of whose posterity shall be given hereafter in the fourth book.
4. Renaud de Courtenay: he was Seigneur de Arrablay, died without issue.
5. Charles de Courtenay, Seigneur de Arrablay, de l'Espinay, etc. and account of whose posterity is in the sixth book.
6. Agnes de Courtenay: she espoused, before the year 1461, John, Seigneur de St. Pierre Eschamps, and was a widow 1466.

7. Isabel de Courteney: she was also married before the year 1461, with John de Fors, Seigneur de St. Martin, etc.

8. Catherine de Courtenay, named in the division of her father's estate in the year 1461, but it is uncertain whether she was married; for there is no mention made of her in the transaction passed between her brothers and sisters, and Blanche de Sannes, widow of John de Lospital, Seigneur de Soisy, made in the year 1460.

CHAPTER II.

John de Courtenay, third of that name, Seigneur de Bleneau, etc. married Margaret de Bouchart, daughter of Lancelot de Bouchart, Knight, Seigneur de Blancafort, in the year 1457: and in the year 1461, he divided with William, Peter, Renaud, and Charles de Courtenay, his brothers the estates both of his father and mother; and in that division he left to his brothers the Seigniouries of de la Ferte Lupiere, de Rommerie, de Arrably, de Cheuillon, de Prenay, and Croquetaine: he died in the year 1480; but Margaret his wife lived to the year 1502, as an arrest of Parliament then made does testify, in which she is mentioned,

The children of John de Courtenay, third of that names Seigneur de Bleneau, etc. and of Margaret de Bouchart his wife, were,

1. John de Courtenay, fourth of that name, Seigneur de Bleneau, of whom I shall speak in the chapter following.

2. Margaret de Courtenay, who was a religious, and died after the year 1479.

3. Louise de Courtenay; she married, before the year 1479, Claude de Chamiguy, Seigneur de Briare; they lived together home to the year 1516, as a transaction does testify, made between them and their brother John de Courtenay, concerning the succession to their father's estate.

4. Catherine de Courtenay: she was married during the life of her father, and before the year 1479, with John de Longveau, Seigneur d Escrignelles,

CHAPTER III.

John de Courtenay, fourth of that name, Seigneur de Bleneau, etc. began his warlike actions under the command of John de Amboise, Seigneur de Buffy, his cousin, in favour of King Charles VIII. against the Duke of Orleans, and other Princes of the Blood, who had formed a party against the state, under pretence of the regency, during the King's minority.

He espoused afterwards Catherine de Boulainvillier, daughter of Philip the second, Seigneur de Boulainvillier, etc. But she dying some time after without issue, he married again, the 2d of February, 1494, Magdalene de Bar, daughter of Robert de Bar, Seigneur de Baugy, etc. He was in Italy, June 24, 1497, with Gilbert de Bourbon, Count de Montpensier, Viceroy of Naples. From that time, we can find nothing of this prince 'till

the year 1510, when being sick in the Castle of Bleneau; he made his wills November 12, and made his executors, Magdalene de Bar his wife, Francis de Bar, Knight, Seigneur de Baugy, Hector de Courtenay, Seigneur de la Ferte, and John de Courtenay his brother, Seigneur de Cheuillon, his cousin-germans. He gave many legacies to divers parishes, and chose to be buried in the Church of Bleneau, before the Crucifix, near his father, and died on Tuesday, January 7, 1511, as his epitaph does shew. His wife died August 25, 1516, according to the epitaph that is put under that of her husband.

The children of John de Courtenay, first of that name, Seigneur de Bleneau, and Magdalene de Bar his wife, were,

1. Francis de Courtenay, first of that name, Seigneur de Bleneau, who continued the family.

2. Philip de Courtenay, Canon de Auxerre, and Curate de St. Priue: he is so stiled in the division of his father's estates made in the year 1519.

3. Esme de Courtenay, who had the Seignioury of Villar for his portion: he signalized himself in many battles in the reign of King Henry II, who gave him the government of Juoy in the year 1552, for that he behaved himself well in the siege of that place, which Count de Mansfield defended for the Emperour, as Monsieur de Thou does say, in the 10th Book of his History. He was also one of the Gentlemen in Ordinary of the King's House; and being in favour with Anne de Montmorency, Constable of France, the most powerful man in the kingdom, he spent his life at court and in the army with honour, and died without having any issue by Vandeline de Nice his wife.

4. John de Courtenay, Knight of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in the year 1529.

5. Antoniette de Courtenay, who espoused, in the year 1544, Francis Seigneur du Monceau, and was the mother of one only daughter.

CHAPTER IV.

Francis de Courtenay, first of that name, Seigneur de Bleneau, etc, was not above eighteen or nineteen years old when he fought in the Battle of Marignan: his first military actions were so famous, that they got him the dignity of a Knight before his time. It is certain, that his reputation and high birth were the cause that made him obtain in marriage Margaret de la Barre one of the greatest fortunes of that times she had for her father John Seigneur de la Barre, Count de Estampes, etc. Francis de Courtenay was married to her May 10, 1527; and in the year following the King gave him the office of Bailiff, Captain, and Governour of Auxerre, in consideration of a sum of money that he paid the King to help him in his affairs: and having lost Margaret de la Barre his wife, he espoused in his second marriage, in the year 1547, Helena de Quinquet, his cousin in the third degree; and it was this second marriage that made him the father of many children, for he had but one daughter living by the first. First Henry II. had so great an esteem and veneration for this person, and for the great qualities that he possessed, that he chose him to inspire royal virtues into those that should one day

succeed to the crown. And without doubt fortune would have declared in his favour, after it had been such a cruel enemy to his ancestors, says Bouchet, if this generous monarch had enjoyed a longer life; but his untimely death hindered him from doing that justice to the Prince of Courtenay which was due to his high birth and to his merit; and he dying in the year 1561, two years after the King, his family lost the fruit of all the hopes that he had conceived in that conjuncture, both by reason of the minority in which he left his children, and of the commotions that were raised in the kingdom afterwards.

The children of Francis de Courtenay, first of that name, Seigneur de Bleneau, etc. and Margaret de Barre, his first wife, were,

1. Frances de Courtenay: she was married, in the year 1566, to Antony Seigneur de Lignieres, Knight of the Royal Order, and Governour of Chartres.

2. Margaret de Courtenay, who died young before the year 1579.

The children by Helena de Quinquet, second wife, were,

1. Gaspar de Courtenay, first of that name, Seigneur de Bleneau, who continued his family.

2. Odet de Courtenay, Seigneur de Parc-Veil: He died without issue.

3. Charles de Courtenay, who died unmarried.

4. John de Courtenay, Seigneur de Salles, who espoused Magdalen de Orleans, the daughter of Lewis de Orleans, Seigneur de Foisseau, by whom he had James, Magdalen, and John de Courtenay, who all died without issue. He retired into England with his cousin John de Courtenay, at that time Seigneur de Frauville, because that justice was refused to be given to them, after their presenting many petitions for the recognizing and preserving the rights of their family; and he did not die 'till the year 1618.

5. Mary-Elizabeth de Courtenay: she espoused Francis de Loron, Baron de Limanton.

6. Susan de Courtenay; she espoused Joachim de Chastenay, Seigneur de Villars en Auxois, but left no issue.

7. Magdalen de Courteney, who had for husband James de l'Enfernat, Baron de Thoigny, etc. by whom she had two daughters.

CHAPTER V.

Gaspar de Courtenay, first of that name, Seigneur de Bleneau, etc. was a minor when his father died; but if he had been of age to take the advantage of the esteem that his father had been in with Lewis XII. Francis I. and Henry II. he had added a new lustre to his family, says Bouchet, and had dispersed that malignant star that had so long presided over the House of Courtenay: but his minority and the meanness of his fortune, and the tumults which the difference about religion, and the interest of the grandes did stir up in the kingdom, opposed the change of his fortune. But in the year 1602, he was forced to break silence, and to demand the privilege of other Princes of the Blood; And this Prince Gaspar de Courtenay, Seigneur de Bleneau, with John de Courteney, Seigneur de Salles, his younger brother, James, Rene, and John de Courtenay, his cousins, of the branch of Chevillon, presented a petition to Henry The

Great, the 15th day of January, 1603, to obtain the recognizance of their family; and the same Prince Gaspar continued to demand it from that invincible monarchy and from his Council home to his death, which happened the 5th of January, 1609. In the year 1571, he was married to Esmee de Chesnay, daughter of John de Chesnay, Knight of the King's Order: but she died May 10, 1604, and was interred in the Church of Bleneau, under a stately monument which her husband erected for himself and her; upon which is his effigies with here upon their knees, clothed with a grand mantle bordered with Fleur de Lys's and double ermines, with the arms of Courtenay and those of France.

After the death of Esmee de Chesnay, Prince Gaspar de Courtenay, Seigneur de Bleneau; married with Loisa de Orleans, daughter of Lewis de Orleans, Seigneur de Foisseau, and left her widow and executrix of his will, by which he ordered, that his heart should be sent to the Church of the Abbey of Fontain-jean, the burying-place of his ancestors. And she caused to be engraven upon a marble stones where are the arms of Courtenay parted with those of Orleans, this epitaph, 'Under is inclosed the heart of the most high and most illustrious Prince of the Blood Royal Monseigneur Gaspar de Courtenay, Seigneur de Bleneau, who died in his house of Bleneau, the 5th day of January, 1609.'

The children of Gaspar de Courtenay, first of that name, Seigneur de Bleneau, etc., and Esmee de Chesnay, his first wife, were,

1. Francis de Courtenay, Seigneur de Neusuy, who died in Hungary, where his courage carried him to fight against the Turks.
2. Esme de Courtenay, Seigneur de Bleneau, etc. of whom we shall speak in the next chapter.
3. Joan de Courtenay, Prioress of the Nunnery of Montargis: she died in the year 1638,
4. Esmee de Courtenay, Governess of the same nunnery after her sister: she died in the year 1641.
5. Claude de Courtenay, who was married to Antony de Brenne, Knight, Seigneur de Bombon, etc. She died in the year 1612.
6. Gaspard de Courtenay: she had for her first husband Claude Seigneur de Bigny; in her second marriage she espoused James de Bossu, Seigneur de Longueval; and afterwards she married Paul de Thianges, Seigneur de Creuzet.

CHAPTER VI.

Esme de Courtenay, first of that name, Seigneur de Bleneau, etc. after his father's death, continued to demand the rank that was due to his birth; but being wearied with the delays of the court, he resolved to put some stop to his pursuits which were rendered of none effect by his enemies, and those that envied the greatness of his family: but before he ceased, he presented together with his uncle and cousins de Chevillon and de Frauville, to the King a petition in the nature of a remonstrance, which they delivered into the King's own hands: but not being able to obtain his requests by reason of the power and greatness of his enemies, he went into Flanders; and when he was come to Thionville, he sent to the King, May 8, the reasons that made him to retire; and sent likewise an account to the Chancellour

of all what the Parliament had done against him, and the interest of his family, to inform the King of it: but the gentleman that he sent to Court found the King dead; for he was assassinated the 14th of the same month, and his letters were only delivered to Monsieur de Ville-roy, one of the Secretaries of State. In the mean time the news of the death of the King had made Monsieur the Prince to leave Italy to go to France; and in his passage he met with Prince Ease de Courteney in the Low Countries, and there he promised him his assistance, and to make use of his interest with the Queen and the ministers to get justice done to his, The Prince de Courtenay prosecuted the affair with so great diligence, that the Queen assured him, that she would give him entire satisfaction; and afterwards he put into the hands of the Chancellour a memorial, which was afterwards printed, containing all that related to the interest of the Family of Courtenay, for him to make report of it to the Council: but this did not answer his expectation, and he could get no advantage by his petitions and complaints, which did not end but with his life. He died in the year 1633, and was the widower of Catherine du Sart his wife, who was daughter of Adrian du Sart, Seigneur de Ville-saint-Jaques.

The children of Esme de Courtenay, first of that name, Seigneur de Bleneau, and of Catherine du Sort his wife, were,

1. Gaspar de Courtenay, second of that name, Seigneur de Bleneau, etc. of whom we shall speak in the next chapter.
2. Isabelle-Angelique de Courtenay, Prioress of the monastery of Saint Dominique in Montargis.

CHAPTER VII.

Gaspar de Courtenay, second of that name, Seigneur de Bleneau. The authority which Cardinal Richelieu had got in the kingdom by his merit, and the fame of his great actions, did oblige this prince, who son to his cousin-german, to apply himself to him\$ that he might have Justice done to his family. And that great man had a design to do all that did lie in his power to restore that family to the dignity that was due to it: but his thoughts being always employed in procuring matter for the conquests and triumphs of his master, and in dissipating the factions that were formed against him by the Grandees of the Realm, he was hindered from bringing his design to effect, of restoring the Family of Courtenay to its rank and dignity, at a time when he was able to put the last hand to that work. His death put an end to the hopes of the Prince of Courtenay, who lived some years at court, and died in the year 1655, without leaving any issue by Magdalene Durfort his wife: two years before his death, he gave the Seignioury of Bleneau to Lewis de Courtenay, Seigneur de Chevillon, his cousin.

BOOK I V.

CHAPTER I.

Peter de Courtenay, first of that name, Seigneur de Ferte-Loupiere, etc. This prince "as the third of the five sons which came by the marriage of John de Courtenay, second of that name, Seigneur de Bleneau, and of Catherine de Lospital, and had for his portion, upon the division of his father's estate, in the year 1461, the Seigniouries de Ferte-Loupiere, de Chevillon, and de Prenay: six years after he married with Perrine de la Roche, descended from an illustrious family: she was the daughter of Vincent Seigneur de la Roche, and Mary de Trie, seventh daughter of James de Trie, Seigneur de Moncy, Philip de Trial her mother's uncle, afterward dying without issue, and leaving great riches behind him, he demanded his share of his estate, together with John Seigneur de Valliquerville, his brother-in-law, in the year 1483, against others that laid claim to it; and the controversy lasted longer than his life, for he died in the year 1504, and it was not ended 'till 1514, as we shall see hereafter.

The children of Peter de Courtenay, first of that name, Seigneur de Ferte-Loupiere, etc, and of Perrine de la Roche his wife, were,

1. Hector de Courtenay, first of that name, Seigneur de Ferte-Loupiere, of whom we shall treat in the next chapter.
2. John de Courtenay, first of that name, Seigneur de Chevillon, and de Frauville, who continued his family, and of whom an account shall be given in the fifth book.
3. Charles de Courtenay, who had the Seignioury of Bontin in part, and died without issue, in the year 1514.
4. Lewis de Courtenay, Seigneur de Bontin after his brother; his posterity is spoken of in the end of this book.
5. Peter de Courtenay: he had for his portion part of the Seignioury of Martroy, in a division made of his father's estate in the year 1505; but died without being married.
6. Esme de Courtenay, who was an ecclesiastic, and divided his father's estate with his brothers in the year 1505: he is also named in the transaction that passed in the year 1514, concerning the dividing of his mother's estate, and lived to the year 1525.

7. Esmee de Courtenay, eldest daughter of Prince Peter, Seigneur de Ferte-Loupiere, and of Perrine de la Roche his wife: she was married before the year 1514, with William de Quinquet, Seigneur de Montisaut.

8. Blanche de Courtenay, second daughter she had for her portion the Seignioury de Prenay, and espoused, after the year 1514, Mark de Matelan, a Scots gentleman, Seigneur de Maranville, father of Charles de Matelan, Seigneur of the same place, who assisted at the marriage of Maximilian de Bethune, Seigneur de Rosy, with Anne de Courtenay, Dame de Bontin, in the year 1583.

CHAPTER II.

Hector de Courtenay, first of that name, Seigneur de Ferte-Loupiere, etc. in the month of May 1505, he divided his father's estate with his brothers and sisters, and also that of his mother, and had for his portion, as older brother, the Seignioury of Ferte-Loupiere: he married in the year 1508, the 14th of May, with Claude de Ancienville; and in the year 1510, John de Courtenay, fourth of that name, Seigneur de Bleneau, his cousin-german, chose him for one of the executors of his lost will. It appears by an arrest of Parliament, that this Prince continued the suit that his father had commenced, touching the succession to Philip de Trie, uncle to his mother, and that it was ended by an agreement made the last day of April, 1514; but his other actions are unknown: he lived to the year 1548.

The children of Hector de Courtenay, first of that name, Seigneur de la Ferte-Loupiere, and of Claude de Ancienville his wife, were,

1. Rene de Courtenay, first of that name, Seigneur de In Ferte-Loupiere: he divided the estate of his father with his brothers and sisters, May 26, 1550, and espoused Anne de la Magdelaine, daughter of Gerard de la Magdelaine, Seigneur de Raigny, but had no child: he was slain in the Siege of Bourges, after he had given many proofs of his Valour, and acquired glory worthy of his great birth, in the year 1562.

2. Philip de Courtenay, Seigneur de Villeneuve-la-Cornue: he died without being married in the year 1551.

3. Joan de Courtenay, the eldest daughter, Dame de Villeneuve-la-Cornue: she was espoused in her first marriage with William de Saint Phale, Seigneur de Nevilly, by whom she had children her second husband Titus de Castelneau, Chevalier of the Order of the King, etc. but he being assassinated in the year 1573, died without issue; and she married a third time with Francis de Vernevil, Seigneur de St. Estin, by whom she was left a widow, in the year 1597.

4. Barbe de Courtenay, second daughter she had for her husband Philip de St. Phale, Seigneur de Thou, whom she married before the year 1549; but she died without children.

5. Marie de Courtenay, third daughter she had for her husband John de Sailly, Seigneur de Hartanes.

6. Charlotte de Courtenay, fourth and last daughter; she was married before the year 1550, to John des Marins, Seigneur de l'Eschelle: he died without issue, and she married again with Julien de Conde, Seigneur de Boulages; and in her third marriage, the first of August, 1561, with Nicholas de la Croix, Vicount de Semoine.

CHAPTER III.

John de Courtenay, first of that name, Seigneur de Chevillon, etc. This prince was the second son of Peter de Courtenay, first of that name, Seigneur de Ferte-Loupiere, and of Perrine de la Roche. In the division of his father's estate with his brothers and sisters, made in the year 1510, he had for his share the Seigniouries of Chevillon and Frauville. In the month of November the same year, the Seigneur de Bleneau left him, together with Hector his elder brother, executors of his last will: and on the first day of January, 1513, he married with a lady of quality, called Lovette de Chantier, daughter of William de Chantier, Seigneur de Moulins, and died the 24th of May, 1534, as the inscription upon his tomb shews, which is in the Church of Chevillon, where is his effigies in a warlike habit, with his coat of arms, and under his head one great Fleur de Lys, as a mark of his royal extraction.

The children of John de Courtenay, first of that name, Seigneur de Chevillon, and of Lovette de Chantier his wife, were,

1. James de Courtenay, Seigneur de Chevillon, who undertaking a voyage to visit Jerusalem, died in the Isle of Cyprus, 1557, without being married.
2. William de Courtenay, Seigneur de Chevillon, who continued the family.
3. Marie de Courtenay, she espoused John de Saily, Seigneur de Gastines.
4. Martha de Courtenay: she had for her husband Mark de Giverlay, Seigneur de Chastres.

CHAPTER IV.

William de Courtenay, first of that name, Seigneur de Chevillon, etc. his mother marrying the second time, has so much consideration for him, that upon her marriage with Seigneur de Pacy, with his consent, she granted to her son the right of the house that she had for her dowry in the Castle of Chevillon: and after the death of his mother, this Prince William divided with his brother his fathers's estate, in the year 1551, and had for his share the Seignioury of Frauville, etc. Some time after he married with Margaret Fretel, descended from Robert Fretel, one of the Chevaliers-Bannerets of the Count de St. Paul, who lived in the time of King Philip the August: he married her the 3d day of January, 1555, and at that time he was only Seigneur de Frauville and de Briant; but his elder brother dying in the Isle of Cyprus, in his voyage to the Holy Land, he became Seigneur de Chevillon: he died in the year 1592, and his corps was buried in the Church of Chevillon, near that of his father, where there is an inscription which says, that he was of the Royal House of France.

The children of William de Courtenay, first of that name, Seigneur de Chevillon, and of Margaret Fretel his wife, were,

1. Francis de Courtenay, who died without being married, before his father, in the year 1583.

2. James de Courtenay, second of that name, Seigneur de Chevillon: He died also without being married, and was interred in the Abbey of Fontain-Jean, where his brother and successor erected for him a rich monument of marble, in which he is represented in the habit of a Prince of the Blood, and there is a large epitaph, which Bouchet has set in his History.

3. Rene de Courtenay, third son of Prince William, Seigneur de Chevillon: he was designed for the Church, and was Abbot of the Abbey de St. Jumieges, after the death of Charles Cardinal de Bourbon, second of that name, Archbishop of Roan: he divided his father's and mother's estate with his brothers the 10th of September, 1596; and in the year 1619, Pope Paul V. at the nomination of Lewis XIII, gave him the Abbey of Eschalis, to hold in commendam with the Priory of St. Eutrope de Chosy in Brie, and that of Chevillon; and the Pope sent his Bull from Tusculum, dated October 17, in which he is stiled Prince of the Blood-Royal; he lived to the year 1627.

4. John de Courtenay, Seigneur de Chevillon, etc. He continued the family.

5. Catherine de Courtenay, only daughter of Prince William de Courtenay: she was married, in the year 1597, to Esme Seigneur de Chevry, etc.

CHAPTER V.

John de Courtenay, second of that name, Seigneur de Chevillon. The two eldest brothers of this Prince being not married, and the third devoting himself to the Church, he became the chief and only heir of that branch, which alone this day remains of the House of Courtenay, that is descended from Lewis le Grosse, King of France; and seeing the Seignioury de Frauville was given to him upon the division of the estate, under that name he first appeared in the world, and did some of the most famous and remarkable things of his life. He was very young when Henry IV. came to the throne# and shared the glory of those great actions that were performed by that invincible monarch, from the beginning of his reign home to the Peace of Vervin, Afterward he married, June the 24th, 1599, with Magdalen de Marle, widow of Claude de Faulx, Chevalier Seigneur de Versigny, This Prince, not being able any longer to bear the injuries done to his family, desired leave of the Queen-Regent, Mary de Medicis, to go out of the Realm; and having got leave he went into England, with John de Courtenay, his cousin, Seigneur de Salles: but before he went, he writ a long letter to the Parliament, which contained the reasons that obliged him to seek protection amongst strangers, until the Kings's majority might be able to give sure protection to his family, and to do him justice, which he did not doubt but the King, when he came of age, would do to his Royal extraction. And the King of England, six months after they came to his court, did write a letter to Lewis XIII. and another to the Queen-Regent his mother, in both which he did recommend the case of the Prince de Courtenay to them, and did desire that they would do him Justice. This letter was dated at Westminster, July 9. 1614,

and is at large in Bouchet. Some time after Monsieur the Prince of Conde having with other Grandees taken up arms to reform some certain abuses that were in the government, he thought that the interest of the Prince of Courtenay would be advantageous to him, by reason of the great esteem that that Prince had got in England: he sent therefore to him for his assistance, and withal promised him that he would do all that did lie in his power to get justice to be done to him: and the letter that he sent for this purpose, was dated January the 4th, 1616. And according to this, in the treaty of peace which was at Loudon, in the month of May following, this article was inserted, viz. 'That right shall be given Messieurs de Courtenay, according to the laws of the land, pursuant to the requests that were often presented by them, for the conservation of the honour of their family, both in the life of the late king and afterwards: of which Monsieur the Prince gave advice to Prince John de Courtenay, then in England, by letter, and assured him, that he would use his power at court, that the family might enjoy their right, as contained in the Ninth Article: to which Article the King's commissioners writ in the margin, That they would acquaint the King with it, for it was not in their power. And there are two letters from the Prince of Conde to that purpose in Bouchet, and subscribed, from your affectionate cousin to do you service, Henry de Bourbon.

But after that Treaty at Loudon, the Prince of Conde being suspected at court, was seized in the Louvre, and made prisoner the 1st day of September 1616; and his imprisonment, and the disorders that followed, broke all the measures that Prince John de Courtenay had taken to put an end to the disgraces of his family, and to obtain those advantages which were due to the Blood-Royal, from which he took his original.

Being thus deprived of his hopes, and losing at the same time his elder brother# who died in the beginning of the year 1617, he resolved to return to France, where, as soon as he arrived, he found the malice of the Procurator-General against his family to appear more than ever; for he not only, by his sole authority\$ did forbid the notaries of the Castle of Paris to give the title of Prince of the Blood in their acts to the House of Courtenay, but did forbid also the Messieurs de St.Marthe to insert their descent in the Genealogical History of the Family of France, and to cite du Tillet in their favour. This obliged the Prince of Courtenay, and the Seigneur de Bleneau his cousin, to complain to the King of the injury done him, February 3, 1620, by a petition, which was put, by the King's command, into the hands of Monsieur de Vair, Keeper of the Seals of France, and given to Monsieur de Boissise, Counsellor of State, for him to make report of it in council: there were six other counsellors also nominated with him to examine the matter; and the King promised, that the Procurator General should be required to do justice to the family.

But the Princes of Courtenay having been amused with fair promises only, for five years together, presented again a petition to the King, on March 16, 1626, in which they demand, that all those things that had been done to the prejudice of their family, as Princes of the Blood, might be void: and they desired, that the King would permit their advocates to assist in the Council; and that the historians might make public all those proofs and writings that did serve to shew the glory of their family; and that the omission of their branch, made by Order of the Procurator-General, in the Genealogical History of the Family of France, by Messieurs St.Marthe, might be repaired. And home to the death of Prince John de Courtenay, which happened at Paris, February 31 1639, they did not cease

to desire justice, without being able to obtain it at the court; which nevertheless refused it no otherwise, than by their silence; and it did in effect own the right of those of the Family of Courtenay, by their manner of treating of them. This is certain, if the court had not been fully perswaded of the truth of their Royal extraction, at that time when they demanded their rank, but thought fit to refuse it them for politick reasons, it would not have hearkened to them, and received their requests, and demands made by them, as Princes of the Bloods which title of Prince of the Blood, the Seigneur de Chevillon took in all his publick acts, and which title the Pope gave to the family in all his Bulls, and which was engraven upon the magnificent monument that was erected by the Seigneur de Chevillon for his brother and him in the Abbey of Fontain-jean, Thuanus, in his History, page 456, says "*Principis nomen nusquam in Gallia tributum nisi iis qui per mares c regibus nostris originem reptunt, qui nunc tantum a Ludovico Nono beatae memoriae numerantur, nam Curtinaei Drocenses, quamvis a Ludovico Crasso genus ducentes hodie inter cos minime recensentur.*" "The name of Prince is never in France given to any, but to those that are descended from our Kings in the male line; and none at this time are counted as such, but those only that are descended from Lewis IX of blessed memory; for those of the Family of Courtenay and Dreux, although they derive their descent from Lewis le Grosse, are not at this day reckoned as Princes of the Blood." Thus saith Thuanus.

Which shews plainly the reason why the Court of France would not allow the Family of Courtenay the priviledges of Princes of the Blood; because they go no father back than to those that are descended from St.Lewis; and the Family of Courtenay branched out from the stock before: and this they did, because they would not have the Princes of the Blood too numerous, and therefore, although they do not deny but the Family of Courtenay was descended from the royal stock, yet, notwithstanding their many petitions and remonstrances, the court still refused them the rights and honours of Princes of the Blood, and so they do to this day. There was one remonstrance with the pedigree of Courtenay printed in the year 1603 the same was re-printed some years after; and the family with great charge got the opinions of most of the Universities of Europe concerning their rights, and they printed in Latin, but all to no purposes

The children of John de Courtenay, second of that name, Seigneur de Chevillon, and of Magdalen de Marle his wife.

1.Lewis de Courtenay, first of that name, Count de Cesy, Seigneur de Chevillon, of whom we shall treat in the following chapter.

2.Robert de Courtenay, second son: he was appointed by Pope Urban VIII. at the nomination of King Lewis XIII. to be abbot of the Abbey of Nostre-Dame de Eschalis, in the Diocese of Sens, vacant by the resignation of Rene de Courtenay, his uncle; as the Pope's Bull shews, dated at St.Marie Major, July 6, 1627, by which his holiness did give him the title of Prince of the Royal Family of France.

3.Magdalen de Courtenay, eldest daughter; at the time when Bouchet did write his History, by a generous resolution, as he says, preferred a single life before marriage.

4.Amicia de Courtenay, second daughter, was married to James de Belloy, Seigneur de Castillon, by whom she was left widow and mother of several children.

CHAPTER VI.

Lewis, first of that name, Prince de Courtenay, Count de Cesy, and Seigneur de Chevillon, was born August 25, 1610¹ and the charges that his father was at to bring him up in the Belles Sciences, and other exercises, agreeable to his condition, found such a favourable success, that he acquired by his merit the general esteem of the whole world. He began his military actions with the attack of the barricades of Susa, in the year 1629; and afterwards the war being declared between the two crowns, France and Spain, his courage carried him to all the places where honour was to be acquired; and, for some years, there was no siege, nor any remarkable action, where his valour was not signalized. Afterwards, in the year 1638, in the month of February, he married with Lucretia-Christian de Harlay, famous both for her high birth, and for her eminent virtues.

The children of Lewis, first of that name, Prince de Courtenay, Seigneur de Chevillon, and of Lucretia-Christian de Harlay, Countess de Cesy his wife.

1. Lewis-Charles, Prince de Courtenay: he was born May 31 1640, whose growing merit, says Bouchet, does give place to hope, that he will one day be encompassed with the glory of his illustrious ancestors, and be possessor of all those advantages that are due to his royal extraction.

2. A second son, born July 26, 1644, and died the 2d of July, 1645 without being named.

3. Roger de Courtenay, born May 29 1647, designed to be Count of St. John de Lyon, and was afterwards purveyor of the Abbies de Eschalis, and of St. Peter de Auxerre, and of the Priory of Choisy in Brie.

4. John Arnaud de Courtenay, . born May 7, 1652, who was made Knight of Malta, with the dispensation of the Pope, 1656, by the Grand Master Lascaris, who by a letter to the Prince his father did testify his satisfaction in having a person of his birth in his order. The letter is in Bouchet.

5. 5. Gabriel-Charlotte de Courtenay, born March 22, 1639, and died July 12, 1652.

6. 6. Christian de Courtenay, born June 15, 1641.

7. 7. Lucretia de Courtenay, born July 21, 1643, religious, professed in the Abbey of Nostre-Dame in Sens, of the Order of St. Bennet.

B. 8. Elizabeth de Courtenay, born October 29, 1647.

And this is the fourteenth generation from Lewis le Grosse; and is the only branch remaining of the House of Courtenay of the Royal Family: and these are the last that Bouchet does mention, for they were living, when he wrote his History, in the year 1661.

CHAPTER VII.

Lewis de Courtenay, first of that name, Seigneur de la Ville-au-Tartre, etc. was the fourth son of Prince Peter de Courtenay, first of that name, Seigneur de Ferte-Loupiere, and of Perrine de la Roche, and divided the estate of his father and mother with his brothers and sister, May 29, 1505. At that time he was under the care of his brother John de Courtenay, Seigneur de Chevillon, and he had for his portion the Seigniouries de la Ville-au-Tartre and de Yville sur Seine: and he succeeded to that of Bontin by the death of Lewis de Mesnil-Simon, Seigneur de Maupas. This Prince Lewis did bear the Arms of Courteney with a crescent and a border componee of argent and gules. It is not certain when he or his wife died, but it is known that he did not live beyond the year 1545.

The children of Lewis de Courtenay, Seigneur de Bontin, etc. and of Claude de Mesnil-Simon his wife.

1. Francis de Courtenay, Seigneur de Bontin, etc. of whom we shall treat in the next chapter.

2. Claude de Courtenays Chevalier of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem.

3. Loup de Courtenay, third son, was Seigneur de Beaulieu in Auvergne, and died without being married.

4. Joan de Courtenay, sole daughter of Lewis de Courtenay, Seigneur de Bontin, and of Claude de Mesnil-Simon, was married before the year 1547, with Francis de Rochefort, Seigneur de Chars in Auvergne.

CHAPTER VIII.

Francis de Courtenay, first of that named Seigneur de Bontin, etc. This Prince succeeded his father in the year 1545, and six years after he was present at the division which his cousins James and William de Courtenay made of their father's estate: he was also present at the contract of marriage made between William de Courtenay, Seigneur de Frauville, with Margaret de Fretel, January 39 1555, and the same year he married with Louisa de Jaucourt, of a most noble and ancient family. It appears, by a criminal process issued against this Prince, upon the complaint of a gentleman of the House of Corquilleray, his vassal, that he had embraced the reformed religion after the death of his father; and he was accused by that gentlemen for taking up the corps of his daughter, and putting it out of the choir of the church: to which he answer'd, that being Haut Justicier, Lord Justiciary of the Parish, it did not belong to those who had fiefs within his jurisdiction to assume to be buried in the choir of the church, without having obtained his permission: that the Sieur de la Corquilleray Has not his rank, and that any man that had but the quality of a gentlemen could not pretend to be his competitor, who had the

honour to be descended from the Blood Royal of France, and had Emperours of his Family, as the Historians do give ample testimony.

It is not certain when he and his wife died; but this I know, says Bouchet, that they did not live beyond the year 1578, and both of them died in the reformed religion.

The children of Francis de Courtenay, first of the names Seigneur de Bontin, etc. and Louisa de Jacourt, his wife, were,

1. Frances de Courtenay, eldest daughter she was married before the year 1580, with Buy de Bethune, Seigneur de Marevil: he with his wife assisted at the contract of marriage between Maximilian de Bethune, his cousin, Seigneur de Rosny, Anne de Courtenay, his sister-in-law, in the year 1583, and died some time after without having any issue.

2. Anne de Courtenay, second daughter, Dame de Rosny, etc. of whom we shall speak in the chapter following.

CHAPTER IX.

Anne de Courteney, Dame de Rosny, etc. this Princess was very young when her father died, and she was put under the tutorage of James de Jaucourt, Seigneur de Villarnoul, her uncle by the mother's side; and it was by his advice that she was married to Maximilian de Bethune, Marquess de Rosny, afterward Duke of Sully, Peer and Mareschal of France, whose family was one of the most illustrious of the realm for its antiquity and great alliances.

This marriage was celebrated in the Castle of Bontin; on the 4th of October, 1583, in the presence of a great many nobility but it was too happy to be of long continuance, for this princess died in the month of June, 1589, being the mother of one only son, who was born at Paris in the year 1588, and was named Maximilian after his father.

BOOK V.

CHAP. I.

Charles de Courtenay, Seigneur de Arrably, was the fifth son of John de Courtenay, Seigneur de Bleneau, second of that name, and of Catherine de Lospital his wife: when his father's estate was divided, which was in the year 1471, he being then under the care of John de Courtenay, fourth of that name, Seigneur de Bricon, his cousin-german, had for his portion the Seignioury of Rommerie, and afterward he succeeded to that of Arrably, by the death of his brother Renaud de Courtenay. A roll of the chamber of accounts does testify, that he was one of those that served King Charles VIII. and who were found in arms under the command of Francis de Bourbon, Count de Vendosme, in the year 1485, to oppose the Duke of Orleans, afterward King by the name of Lewis XII. who pretended to the Regency to the prejudice of Anne de France, Dame de Beaujeu: he was at the Battle of St. Aubin, in the year 1488 and if he did not die then, it was a little time afterwards for on the 17th of April, 1502, Joan de Chery his wife was married with a gentleman, named Peter de Polecinge, Seigneur de Borneville, who had the government of his children that were minors.

The children of Charles de Courteney, Seigneur de Arrablay, and of Joan de Chary his wife.

1. Francis de Courtenay, first of that names Seigneur de Arrablay, of whom we shall speak in the next chapter.
2. Jane de Courtenay, who espoused John de Guarchy, Seigneur de Blannay.

CHAPTER II.

Francis, first of that name, Seigneur de Arrably, etc. this Prince being a miner when his father died, was for some time under the tutorage of his mother, and of Seigneur de Borneville, her second husband. Afterward he married with Frances de Menipeny, who was of a family that was most illustrious in the Kingdom of Scotland, and which came and dwelt in France in the Reign of Charles VII. This Prince Francis de Courtenay and his wife died both before the year 1540, as does appear by an arrest of court, dated July 24, the year following, and were interred in a Chapel in the Church of Arrably under a Tombs the writing of which is effaced; but upon it is to be seen a lady, with the Arms of Courtenay on one side, and those of Menipeny on the other.

The only daughter of Francis de Courtenay, Seigneur de Arrablay, was Gilberte de Courteney, Dame de Briare and de Arrablay: she was an orphan, and under the tutorage of Prince Francis de Courtenay, Seigneur de Bleneau, Governour de Auxerre, her cousin, in the year 1540, and by his advice she was married to Francis de Chamigny, first of that name, Seigneur de Briare, one of the gentleman of the King's house, and Governour of Montargis: he died the second of March 1577, and his Lady Gilberte, Princess de Courtenay, lived to the year 1590.

BOOK VI.

Chapter 1.

Philip de Courtenay, first of that name, Seigneur de Ferte-Loupiere; amongst the children of John de Courtenay, first of that name, Seigneur de Champignelles, and of Joan de Sancerre, Dame de St. Bricon: This Prince is named the second in the division of his father's estate, made Tuesday before the Feast of St. Nicholas, 1318. He was afterwards Chevalier, and espoused Margaret durable, daughter of John Seigneur durable, Chevalier-Counsellor to the King: this Prince Philip de Courtenay accompanied King Philip de Valois in his march to Flanders, and was one of those that had part of the glory of that famous victory which he had over the Flemmings at Mount Cassel, August 24, 1328. In the year 1340, John Duke of Normandy, afterward King of France, having entered the Country of Hainault with an army, by the order of the King his father, this Prince Philip de Courtenay was with him at the siege of the town of Thin, and at all other times that campaign home to the raising the siege of Tournay, which "as besieged by Edward III, King of England. Margaret durable, his wife, died before the year 1344, and he married again; but I know not the name of the lady nor her family, says Bouchet, though he had children by her; and the Martyrology of Nostre-Dame de Soissons does say, that she died April 21, but does not mention the year.

The children of Philip de Courtenay, first of that name, Seigneur de Ferte-Loupiere.

1. Margaret de Courtenay, which he had by his first wife, before the year 1349: she was married into a family that was one of the most illustrious of France, which took its original, according to the common opinion, from the ancient Counts of Senlis, and which had for a long time the office of Great Butler of France, one of the five great offices of the Crowns and all those of that family, from the year 1200 home to this time, have taken the surname of Bonteiller together with that of Senlis.

2. John de Courtenay, first of that name, Seigneur de Ferte-Loupiere: he was by the second wife, and continued his family.

3. Joan de Courtenay, she was likewise by the second wife; she espoused Gaucher de Bruillart, Chevalier Seigneur de Coursant, with whom she lived home to the year 1382.

Chapter II.

John de Courtenay, first of that name, Seigneur de la Ferte-Loupiere, This Prince was unknown to Du Tillet, and those that have writ after him of the Family of Courtenay; but he is named in two accounts given to the King, one in the year 1389, the other 1394, by John and Lewis de Noyers, Counts de Joigny; and he is also named son of Philip de Courtenay, Seigneur de la Ferte-Loupiere, in some Royal Letters, dated May 51 1397: and an account of the demesnes of the King in the Baillages of Sens and Melun, in the year 1390, does say, that he was espoused to Perenelle de Manchecourt, daughter to William de Manchecourt, Chevalier. Afterwards he married with Anne de Valery, in his second marriage, who, having no issue by him, left her estate to John de Courtenay, second of that name, Seigneur de Bleneau, in the year 1417.

The son of John de Courtenay, first of that name, Seigneur de la Ferte-Loupiere, and of Perenelle de Manchecourt, his first wife, was John de Courtenay, second of that name, Seigneur de Ferte-Loupiere, who shall be the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER III.

John de Courtenay, second of that name, Seigneur de la Ferte-Loupiere, succeeded his father before the year 1412, and is numbered amongst the vassals of the Count de Joigny, in the general numbering which was give to Charles VI, in the year 1416. Two years after, this Prince having embraced the party of the Dauphin of Viennois, afterwards King by the name of Charles VII. had took up arms against the Duke of Burgogne, who being favoured by the Queen had taken upon him the government of the state, the King declared him rebel, and confiscated his estate, in the month of June, 1418, and afterwards gave the Seignioury of la Ferte-Loupiere to Buy de la Tremouille, Count de Joigny; but some time after King Charles VII. came to the crown, and the Prince John de Courtenay had his estate restored to him, which he left to his children. But I cannot find, says Bouchet, the name of his wife, nor the family from which she was descended.

The children of John de Courtenay, second of that name, Seigneur de la Ferte-Loupiere.

1. Joan de Courtenay, married to Guy de Cournoy, Seigneur de Bonelle, with whom she sold to John de Courtenay, second of that name, Seigneur de Bleneau, in the year 1445, her part of the Seignioury de la Ferte-Loupiere.

2. Michelle de Courtenay, second daughter, espoused Michellet Bourdin, Esq; and sold with him, in the year 1445, her portion of la Ferte-Loupiere to John de Courtenay, second of that name, Seigneur de Bleneau, her cousin; and in these ended this branch of the Family of Courtenay.

Book VII.

Chapter I.

William de Courtenay, first of that name, Seigneur de Tanlay. Three charters of the Abbey of Nostre-Dame de Rosoy, in the Diocese of Sens, in the year 1183, 1184, and 1186, do testify, that this Prince was the fourth son of Peter of France and Elizabeth Dame de Courtenay; and that it was with his consent, together with that of his brother, that his mother confirmed to that Monastery the estate that her husband had given. The seignioury of Tanley falling to his share, he took his surname from that, and left it to his posterity, with the Arms of Courtenay, with a label of five Points azure, as a mark of his being a younger brother: he espoused Adeline de Noyers, the daughter of Clerembaut, first of that name, Seigneur de Noyers, and of Alice de Brenne, and confirmed with her, in the year 1220, six shillings of rent, which Buy de Noyers, her uncle, had given to the infirmary of Noyers, afterward, he being a widower, married with a certain lady, whose family is not known; but she is named Nicole in one charter of the Abbey of Rigny: he died before the year 1248, and left no issue by his 2d wife, some do write, that he accompanied King Lewis the Young, his uncle, in his voyage beyond sea, in the year 11471 but they have confounded him with William de Courtenay, brother to his grandfather by the mother's side; for Peter de France his father was not married that year.

The children of William de Courtenay, first of that name, Seigneur de Tanlay, and Adeline de Noyers, his first wife.

1. Robert, first of that name, who continued the family.
2. John de Courtenay, who had the Seignioury of Joux for his portion, and who died without being married, after the year 1248.
3. Baldwin, who is named with his father, mother, and brothers in one charter of Rigny, in the year 1222; and died also without issue.
4. Joan, who was married to Peter Corail, Chevalier.
5. Alice, second daughter she was married to Milon de Tonnere, sirnamed Turbillon, Chevalier.

Chapter II.

Robert de Courtenay, first of that name, Seigneur de Tanlay: in the year 1222 he is stiled Chevalier, in a charter of the Abbey of Rigny, by Miles, third of that names Seigneur de Noyers, his uncle: he founded a chapel in the Castle of Tanlay, in the year 1248: his Princess is named no otherwise than Dame de Tanlay, in an instrument wherein he exchanged some lands with the Duke of Bourgogue; but being stiled sister to the Bishop of Auxerre in another writing, in the year 1255, we are given to understand, that she was of the illustrious family of Merlo, commonly called Merlo, in the Diocese of Beauvois, descended from the race of Charlemagne. This Prince Robert, Seigneur de Tanlay, died in the year 1360, and was buried in the Abbey of Quincy, in the Diocese of Langres, where is his monument with this epitaph; Here lyeth the body of Messre Robert Seigneur de Tanlay, Chevalier, eldest son of Monseigneur William Seigneur de Tanlay, who died in the year 1360.

The children of Robert, first of that name, Seigneur de Tanlay, and of Margaret de Mello his wife.

1. John, first of that name, Seigneur de Tanlay, of whom we shall speak in the following chapter.

2. Marie de Tanlay: she was espoused to William de Joinville, Seigneur de Juilly; but I cannot find, says Bouchet, whether she had any children.

CHAPTER III.

John, first of that name, Seigneur de Tanlay: his wife, Margaret, Dame de St. Winemer, was the daughter of John first of that name, Seigneur de Plancy: This Prince John, Seigneur de Tanlay, died July 15, in the year 1285, and was interred near his father in the Abbey of Quincy, under a tomb of bass-relief, charged with Semi-Fleur de Lys's with his effigies upon it with an epitaph, of which these words only can be read; Offa Domini tumulata Johannis Militis. Hic requiescunt, Transit annis 1300, Ter quinque retentis, Julii quinta die dena-- , In the month of August the same year, the Princess his widow, with the consent of Robert her son, confirmed the gift of twenty five shillings rent, which Thibaut de Plancy, Seigneur de St. Winemer, had made to the priory of that place, for the celebration of an Anniversary Mass for him and his brother: and she married again with Gaucher de Rochefort, Viscount de Chartres, as it appears by a charter in that priory, dated the month of February, 1287.

The children of John, first of that name, Seigneur de Tanlay, and of Margaret de Plancy his wife.

1. Robert, second of that name, Seigneur de Tanlay, etc.
2. Stephen de Tanlay, Seigneur de Tannerre: He died without issue,
3. Philip de Tanlay, who died likewise without issue, and was interred in the Abbey of Quincy, with this epitaph; Here lyeth the body of Philip de

de Tanlay, Seigneur de Ravieres and St. Winemer, who died in the Year of Grace 1300.

4. John de Tanlay, who entering into the Ecclesiastical State, was dean of the Abbey of Quincy, where he was interred after his death under a tomb, upon which he is represented clothed in his sacerdotal habit, holding a chalice in his hands, and by each side of him lies a psalter with four escutcheons about him; 1. That of Courtenays, with a label of five points; 2. of Plancy; 3. of Mello; 4. of Noyers. 5. Marie de Tanlay: she was married, before the year 1290, with Guy de Montreal, Seigneur de Athies, The Martyrology of the Priory of Nostre-Dame de l'Isle de Troyes, where she was interred, doth mention the day on which she departed, in these words; Undecima Kalendas Aprilis, Anniversarium Dominae Mariae de Tanlaio, quondam Uxoris Domini Guidonis de Montereali: and there are to be seen upon the tomb, which is on the left side of the church, four escutcheons, viz. The arms of Courtenay-Tanlay, Plancy, Mello, and Noyers.

CHAPTER IV.

Robert de Courtenay, second of that name, Seigneur de Tanlay: in the year 1302, with the consent of Agnes de St Yon his wife, he founded a new chapel in the Castle of Tanlay, upon condition that he and his successors should present to it: but after this deed of piety, the rest of his actions are unknown, only it is known, that he was buried in the church of the Abbey of Quincy, under a tomb filled with Fleur de Lys's, and upon which is his effigies with his arms on the right hand, and his sword on the left, with this inscription ; Latitant hic offa Roberti Tanlaili militis experti. Dominus hic fuit absconcus; Anno 1260, Quinta Vice Deno Anno decessit; the rest is effaced; only in the end is to be seen, summa quies ei sit. His wife is also interred in the same Abbey near him, under a tomb, where is her effigies encompassed with the Arms of Courtenay, St. Yon, Plancy, Mello, and Noyers, with this Epitaph; Here lyeth Madam Agnes de St. Yon, Dame of Tanlay, who departed this life, Saturday the eve of St. Peter, in the year of Grace 1306.

The children of Robert, second of that name, Seigneur de Tanlay, and of Agnes de St. Yon his wife.

1. William, second of that name, Seigneur de Tanlay, of whom we shall speak in the next chapter.

2. Philip de Tanlay, who is called the brother of William, and Prior of Juilly, in the act of homage that he rendered, as Proctor for his brother, for the Seigniouries of Ravieres and of Champront, to John de Chalon, Count de Auxerre, in the year 1315.

3. Agnes de Tanlay, who was married with Robert Seigneur de Rochefort.

CHAPTER V.

William, second of that name, Seigneur de Tanlay, etc. This Prince was one of the nobles in the counties of Auxerre and Tonnerre, that entered into a league and association with the clergy and people, after the example of many other provinces of the realm, against King Lewis X. surnamed Hutin, to oppose divers exactions that were put upon them, in the year 1304. This Prince died in the year 1328, but the name of his wife is not known.

The children of William, second of that name, Seigneur de Tanlay.

1. Robert, third of that name, Seigneur de Tanlay; he accompanied King Philip de Valois in his march that he made against the Flemmings, in the year 1328, and was at the famous Battle of Mont-Cassel, the 22d of August that year; and there are many acquittances in the chamber of accounts at Paris, which do shew, that he served the King in Flanders, with seven esquires, in the years 1340 and 1341. I cannot tell, says Bouchet, whether he was married, nor the time of his death; but this is certain, that he left no issue, and had for his successor Philip de Tanlay, his brother, Seigneur de St. Thierry.

2. John de Tanlay: he was at the battle of Mont-Cassel with his elder brother in the year 1328; and he espoused Odete de Pleepape, the daughter of Guy Seigneur de Pleepape, and died without children, after the year 1340; for that year he and his brother sold to the prior and convent de la Saussaye the house of Romeroy, for which the King granted a Mortmain by his letters patents, January 1, in the year following.

3. Philip de Tanlay, who continued his family, and of whom we shall speak in the chapter following.

CHAPTER VI.

Philip, first of that name, Seigneur de Tanlay, etc. It appears by the register of the chamber of accounts in Paris, where he is stiled Chevalier, that he was at the bloody Battle of Crecy, which was fought Saturday the 26th of August, 1346, followed by twelve esquires, who were paid home to the 15th of December following, by the Order of Charles Seigneur de Montmorency, and Robert de St. Venant, Mareschal of France. In the year following, the King having sent them to secure Calais, besieged by the King of England, he accompanied them from the 18th of June to the 7th of August, as long as the Army was together he died before the 12th of June 1385, according to an arrest of court: and his widow, who lived to the year 1399, was married afterwards to Peter de la Ferte, surnamed le Begue, Chevalier.

The children of Philip, first of that name, Seigneur de Tanlay, and of Philibert de Casteuneuf his wife.

1. Peter de Tanlay, Chevalier: he served King Charles V. against the English, in the year 1377, with one chevalier and seven esquires, and died, before his father, without being married, in the month of October 1383, at the Siege of Bourbourg, where he accompanied King Charles VI.

2. Stephen de Tanlay, Seigneur de Ravieres; of whom we shall speak in the next chapter.
3. Joan de Tanlay: she espoused, in the year 1375, John de Chamigny, Chevalier, Seigneur de Soustour, etc. He died in the year 1390, and she married again in the year 1392, with Hugh Postal, Chevalier, and had no child by the second marriage.
4. Alixant de Tanlay: she was abbess of the Abbey of Nostre-Dame de Crisenon, of the Order of St. Bennet, in the Diocese of Auxerre; and in that quality she gave an acquittance, sealed with her seal, on which were the arms of Courtenay-Tanlay, etc. May 21 1409.

CHAPTER VII.

Stephen de Tanlay, first of that name, Seigneur de Tanlay, etc. It appears by an ancient Roll in the Chamber of Accounts, that this Prince served King Charles V. against the English in the year 13693 and the account of the money that was paid to the Counts, Barons, Captains, etc. that followed King Charles VI. in his march into Flanders, to drive away the English that had besieged Bourbourg, in the month of October, 1383, doth shew that he was one of them, An arrest of Parliament doth shew, that he died about the end of that year; and that Margaret de Valery, his second wife, by whom he had no child, married afterwards with Gaucher Seigneur de Melligny: it appears, by an account that Lewis De Chalons gave, in the year 1393, to Philip de France, Duke de Bourgogne, surnamed the Hardy, of the counties of Auxerre and Tonnere, that his first wife was daughter of Messire Peter de Marmeaux.

The only daughter of Stephen de Tanlay, and Joan de Marmeaux his wife was,
Joan de Tanlay: she was sometime under the care of John de Blesy, Chevalier, Chamberlain to the King, and Captain of his Guards and she married afterward with William de Blesy, his son, Chevalier; but he being slain in the Battle of Nicopolis, in the year 1396, she espoused afterwards Robert de Chastus, Seigneur de Entragues, in the year 1402: she died without issue, the children that she had by her first husband being dead before hers and in her ended that branch of the family of Courtenay that was surnamed de Tanlay.

BOOK VIII.

CHAPTER I.

I do not know positively, says Monsieur Bouchet, whence the Seigneur de Yerre, of the surname and arms of Courtenay, took their original but I have great reason to think, that they descended from John, the youngest son of Peter of France, son of Lewis le Grosses for besides that they did carry the surname and arms of Courtenay, charged with a label of five points sable, and did affect the names of John, William, Robert and Peter, after the example of the Seigneur de Champignelles, de Bleneau, and de Tanlay; this is certain, that the Seignioury de Yerre, distant about three leagues from Corbeil, was the patrimony of the predecessors of the mother of Princess Elizabeth Dame de Courtenay, and that she had in marriage for her portion part of it; of which Baldwin du Donjon, her nephew, brother to St. William, Arch-Bishop of Bourges, called himself Seigneur, in the year 1203: and that it come, after the death of John du Donjon, his son, who possessed it home to the year 1245, as appears by the Charters of the Abbey of Barbeau, to William de Courteney, Chevalier, who was sole Seigneur of it in the year 1255, and who had for his father John son of Peter of France; we may be assured, because the time does exactly agrees and the name of William seems to be given him by William Seigneur de Tanlay, who received his from St. William, Arch-Bishop of Bourges, cousin-german to his mother; and it is very likely, that the Prince his father, being son to Elizabeth Dame de Courtenay, had not only for his portion part of the Seignioury of Yerre, which his grandfather, by the mother's side, had but he succeeded also to that which was separated upon the death of John du Donjon, his cousin: and the said William de Courtenay, first of that name, Seigneur de Yerre, was also Seigneur de Bondousle, de Revigny, and de Coms-la-ville, for which he paid homage to Renaud de Corbeil, Bishop of Paris, at his episcopal seat in Moissy, Wednesday after the Feast of St. John Baptist, June 28, 1255: and was the father of William de Courtenay, second of that name, Seigneur de Yerre, and of Bandousle, and of John de Courtenays surnamed de Yerre, Chevalier, Seigneur de Coms-la-ville, in part, and de Revigny, who invested by letter, in the month of October, 1269, sealed with his seal of the arms of Courtenay, charged with a label of five points, Joan Countess of Thoulouse, in one piece of

ground that she had bought to build the Abbey of Jerce upon; he died without children of Alice de Soisy his wife, after the year 1279. Prince William de Courtenay, first of that name, Seigneur de Yerre, was the father also of Willemette de Courtenay, that was married to Nargeaud de Fons, who rendered homage to Stephen Bishop of Paris, Wednesday after the Feast of St. Denis, 1277, for that which William de Yerre had given his daughter in marriage of the Seignioury of Coms-la-ville.

CHAPTER II.

William de Courtenay, second of that name, Seigneur de Yerre, etc. This Prince accompanied St.Lewis in his first voyage beyond sea, in the year 12481 and being very young, his courage carried him so far in the Battle of Massoure, that he was taken prisoner by the Infidels with the Xing, who paid his ransom; After his return he espoused Joan de Grignoles, in the year 12681 and, in the year 1272, King Philip III. sirnamed the Hardy, having a design to march with an army against the Count de Foix, who was gone off from his obedience, he was one of the Grandees of the Realm that were commanded to accompany him. And it appears by a Register in the Chamber of Accounts, that he and John his brother were received at Tours by Ferrar de Vernevil, Mareschal of France: he died seven years after, and was buried in the Church of the Religious of Yerre, with his wife under the same tomb, haying on it these two inscriptions here lyeth Monsieur William Seigneur de Yerre, who was taken at Massoure with Monseigneur St.Lewis, and ransomed by the same Saint from the prison of the Saracens: he died 1279, on the Eye of St. Catheline. Here lyeth Madame Joan de Brignoles, daughter of Monsieur Renaud de Brignoles, who was wife to Monseigneur William de Yerre, and departed this life in the year 1276. Pray God to have mercy on their souls.

The children of William, second of that name, Seigneur de Yerre, and of Joan de Brignoles his wife.

1. John de Courtenay, second of that name, Seigneur de Yerre, etc.
2. William de Courtenay, Seigneur de Bondousle, whose posterity we shall find after that of his brother.
 3. Robert de Courtenay: he died without children in the City of Tours, being in the company of Monseigneur Charles de Valois, who was in war in Gascogne, in the year 1297, as his epitaph shews, which is to be seen in the Abbey of Yerre.
4. Jacqueline de Courtenay, who died young.
5. Joan de Courtenay who died young also.

CHAPTER III.

John de Courtenay, second of that name, Seigneur de Yerre: he espoused Isabel de Corbeil, daughter of John de Corbeil, Seigneur de Grez in Brie, and sister to John, surnamed de Grez, Mareschal of France, and of Peter de Grez, Bishop of Auxerre: she lived with her husband to the year 1315, and was mother of Peter de Courtenay, first of that name, Seigneur de Yerre, and Margaret de Courtenay, who was Abbess of Yerre, as appears by the inscription that is upon her tomb in the church of that monastery; upon which tomb are two escutcheons, 1. of Courtenay, charged with a label of five points, parted with a dragon aisle, which is the arms of Corbeil; the other a dragon by itself: the inscription is, Here lyeth Sister Margaret, daughter of Monsieur John Seigneur de Yerre, Chevalier, and of Madame Isabel de Corbeil his wife, sister to Monseigneur John de Grez, Chevalier, Mareschal of France, and of Master Peter de Grez, Bishop of Auxerre, who was Abbess of this church one year, three months, and six days, and died the seventh day of June, 1312. Pray for her soul, that God may have mercy upon it. Amen.

CHAPTER IV.

Peter de Courtenay, first of that name, Seigneur de Yerre, etc. Chevalier, succeeded his father before the year 1317, as appears by a roll containing the names of those who did service to the Castle of Corbeil, which Queen Elizabeth, widow to King Lewis Hutin, had in dowry: he was married with Joan de Courpalay, and interred with her in the Abbey of Yerre, under the same tomb, which had these two epitaphs upon it; Here lyeth Monsieur Peter de Yerre, Chevalier, and Seigneur de Yerre, who died in the year 1333, in the Eve of Pentecost, May 22. Pray God for his soul. Here lyeth Madame Joan, Wife of Peter Monseigneur de Yerre, who was daughter of Monseigneur John de Courpalay, and died in the year 1319, in the eve of the decollation of John Baptist. pray for her soul.

The children of Peter, first of that name, Seigneur de Yerre, and of Joan de Courpalay his wife.

1. John de Courtenay, third of that name, Seigneur de Yerre; of who we shall speak in the next chapter.

2. Margaret de Courtenay, who espoused Peter de Voisins, Chevalier, Seigneur de Montgry, whose tomb is to be seen in the Abbey of Yerre, with an escutcheon, upon which was an orle of martlets with a canton of ermines, parted with that of Courtenay, charged with a label of five points, as also with this epitaph; Here lyeth the noble Dame Madame Margaret de Yerre, wife of that noble man, Peter de Voisins, Chevalier, Seigneur de Montgry, who died Tuesday the Eve of St. Simon and St. Jude, in the month of October, in the year of Grace 1360. Pray God for her soul, that he would pardon it,

CHAPTER IV.

John de Courtenay, fourth of that name, Seigneur de Yerre. He served King Philip de Valois against the English in many rencontres under the command of John of France, Duke of Normandy; and he was, with three esquires, in the army that the King sent into Hainault, in the year 1340, under the command of his son, that Duke, against the Flemmings, as appear by an acquittance sealed with his seal, in which we may see, that his crest was a double Fleur-de-Lys, as that of the other Princes of the Royal family is: his wife was Mary de Vincy, whom he left a widow.

The children of John de Courtenay, fourth of that name, Seigneur de Yerre, etc. and Mary de Vincy his wife.

1. 1. John de Courtenay, fifth of that name, Seigneur de Yerre.
2. 2. William de Courtenay, who died without issue after the year 1380.

CHAPTER VI.

John de Courtenay, fifth of that name, Seigneur de Yerre; he espoused in the year 1366, his father then living, Joan du Plessoy, Dame de Vienne, daughter of Geofroy du Plessoy, Chevalier, Seigneur de Broville, and widow of Robert de Vieuxpont.

Isabel de Courtenay, his only daughter, succeeded in the Seignioury of Courpalay, and in the moiety of that of Yerre, which she carried in marriage to Geofroy de Tout-outer, Esquire: she did not live beyond the 26th of January, 1428. In the person of this lady ended the Seigneurs of Yerre of the Royal Family.

CHAPTER VII.

William de Courtenay, first of that name, Seigneur de Bondousle and de Busenval: he was second son of William de Courtenay, second of that name, Seigneur de Yerre, and of Joan de Grignoles, and had for his portion the Seignioury of Bondousle, in succession from his father. In the year 1277, he was present with John, second of that name, Seigneur de Yerre, his brother when Nargeaud de Fons paid homage to Stephen Bishop of Paris, for that he held in Coms-la-ville, being the portion of Guillemette de Courtenay his wife: but I do not know, says Bouchet, what family he married into, nor the reason why he bore a field gules, with the arms of Courtenay upon a cheveron, between three Lyons or; unless it was that he made use of his mother's arms to make him appear more nobler only I find that he had one son named Guillemin, or Little William.

CHAPTER VIII.

Willemin de Courtenay, first of that name, Seigneur de Bondousle: he being taxed for a house that he had in Paris in a subsidy that was laid upon the city, was dispensed from paying of it by the King, after he had made out his nobility, and the King sent a letter to that purpose. Time has suppressed the other actions of his life, together with the name of his wife and her family: but many papers that are in the Chamber of Accounts do shew, that he was the father of William, third of that name, Seigneur de Bondousle, and of Peter de Courtenay, who was employed in the wars in the Reign of King John and Charles V. after the year 1371, home to the year 1378: and he served in Normandy against the King of Navarre, with six esquires, as appears by an acquittance, sealed with his seal, in the year 1366: he was married to Jane Bode; but her licentious life, and the hatred that he conceived against her upon that account, made him, four years afterwards, to throw her into a pond and drown her, for which he obtained the King's pardon.

CHAPTER IX.

William, third of that name, Seigneur de Bondousle, etc. Chevalier, was put into the office of Master of the Request of the King's house, October 19, 1358, by Charles of France, Duke of Normandy, Dauphin de Viennois, Regent of the Realm. And about the end of the year following, the City of Paris committed to him the guard and defence of the Bridge of St. Cloud against the English; and he had six hundred florins a month to pay his soldiers, as his acquittance does shew, sealed with his seal, dated February 21, 1359. In the year 1351, December 91 he gave an acquittance, sealed with the same seal, to John Aquile, for money that was due to him, as Master of the requests but some time after, he was deprived of that office by the reformators-general (as they were called) of the Realm. I do not know the time, says Bouchet, when his posterity ended: it does appear, by letters of the Duke of Normandy, Regent of the Realm, that he had at that time eight children; but I can find the names but of two sons and one daughter the sons, John and Andrew, were both Canons of the church of St. John le Rond in Paris, in the year 13921 and the daughter, Jacqueline de Courtenay, made profession in the Abbey of Gif, in the Diocese of Paris: she lived a licentious life a long time with a Prior, who dying, she married publicly with one named Jaquemin le Pourpointier. But the Bishop of Paris having declared the marriage void, she took upon her the Habit again, and was put into the Abbey of St. Cyr, in the Diocese of Chartres, from whence she was taken, in the year 1405, to be Prioress of Villarceaux, as an arrest of court does shawl and she was at that time above fifty years old.

In some registers of the Chamber of Accounts, there is mention made of one John Courtenay, Serjeant at Arms, in the year 13421 but he was not

of this family, but, on the contrary a man of a mean extraction, of the town of Courtenay, advanced by fortune, which gave him the surname of the place of his birth; but he was called de Monteaux, as doth testify the letters patents of King John, that were made in his favour: and this I thought fit to say, to disabuse those, says Bouchet, that might think, that he was of the Blood-Royal, because he had the name of Courtenay.

And thus I have given a short account of the Family of Courtenay in France, extracted out of the Book of Monsieur Bouchet, in which there is a very large History of the Family, and of the families into which it matched; which book he dedicates to the French King, Lewis XIV. and was printed in the year 1661. And since that, a little after the death of Lewis XIV. and the coming of Lewis XV. to the throne, the Princes of Courtenay did make a protestation, in which they asserted their right to the rank and privileges of the princes of the Blood. The protestation is as follows;

A Protestation that was made by Messieurs the Princes of Courtenay, for the preservation of the right of their births October 1, 1715.

SIRE,

The Princes of the House of Courtenay, having the Honour to be descended in legitimate male line from Peter of France, Lord of Courtenay, younger son of King Lewis VI. called le Gross, out, under the protection of your majesty, and in consequence of your justice, to enjoy all the right that belong to their birth; in confidence whereof, they renew to your majesty the most humble remonstrances and instances which they and their fathers have made to the Kings your predecessors for obtaining the rank that belongs to them. They presume in like manner, Sires to renew the protestations they have made at several times, in order to have preserved to them all the rights of the Princes of the family and blood of France. They should with reason fear your majesty would judge them unworthy, if, in the beginning of a reign so full of justice, as is this of your majesty, they did not protest, as they do, with profound respect, against all that may have been done to their prejudice under the late reign, or may be done hereafter, contrary to the lawful rights of their birth: protesting from this time to pursue their right, when the ways of justice are permitted them, as they have always demanded, and do now actually demand of your majesty; they will never cease, Sire, to pray to God that he will shower down upon you all sorts of favours.

Louis-Charles de Courtenay.
Charles-Roger de Courtenay.
Roger de Courtenay.

On the 7th of May, 1730, in the morning, the Prince of Courtenay was found dead in his bed: he has left no issue: so that there remains of that family, only his uncle the Abbot Courtenay.

Here endeth the second part.

THE GENEALOGICAL
HISTORY
OF THE
NOBLE FAMILY
OF
COURTENAY.

PART III.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER 1.

The third branch of the most noble and illustrious house of Courtenay is that which seated itself in England, and has been here ever since the beginning of the reign of Henry II. and was in great grandeur for a long time under the titles of barons, earls, and marquesses allied to the Royal Family by several matches, and does still flourish in several branches.

This first of this family that is preserved from oblivion, as was observed in the first part of this history, was one that was Governour of Castle-Renaud in Gastinois in France, and he had a son named Athon, who rendered himself famous by his valour; he fortified the Castle of Courtenay, and from thence his family took its name, about the time that surnames came first to be used in France, in the reign of King

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Robert of France, a little before the Norman Conquest. This Athon de Courtenay married a lady of quality, whose name is unknown and was the father of Josceline, first of that name, Seigneur de Courtenay: This Josceline was married twice, he married first, about the year 1060, with Hildegarde, daughter of Geofry, surnamed Ferole, Count de Gastinois, by whom he had but one daughter, named Hodiernne, who was afterward married, about the year 1080, with Geofry, second of that name, Count de Joigny. In his second marriage, after the year 1065, he espoused Elizabeth, daughter of Guy, first of that name, Seigneur de Montleherry, and by that second wife he had three sons, Miles, Josceline, and Geofry: Josceline, the second brother, went into the Holy Land in the year 1101, with Stephen Count de Blois, and many other Seigneurs of France, and was the first of that family that was planted in the East, of which I have spoken in the first part of this history; Geofry, surnamed de Chaplay, his younger brother, went with him: he was famous, saith William Arch-Bishop of Tyre, for his high birth and military actions, and died fighting against the Infidels in the Holy Land, in the year 1139; and of him I have spoken likewise in the first part. Miles, first of that name, Seigneur de Courtenay, the elder brother, espoused Ermangarde, the only daughter of Renaud, or Reginald, second, Count de Nevers, about the year 1095; and in the year 1124, he founded the Abbey of Fontain-jean of the Cistercian Order, where, according to his Order, he was buried, in the year 1127; but that same year he was present with King Lewis le Grosse at the donation of the Church of St. Saviour to the Abbey of St. John, by the Chapter of Sen: In the grant are these words; Assistente Rege Ludovico & proceribus Regni, Milone Curiniacensi & Andrea Dapisero, Comitibus Theobaldi. The time of the death of Ermangarde his wife is not known, but he had three sons by her, William, Josceline, and Reginald; Of Josceline, saith Bouchet, in his Genealogical History, I know nothing but the name. William he stiles Seigneur de Courtenay, first of that names; he accompanied King Lewis, surnamed the Young, to the Holy Land, where he died, as Bouchet saith, because he did not hear of him afterward; before he went, he gave to the Abbey of Fontain-jean forty shillings a year rent, for to maintain lights in the church. Reginald de Courtenay became sole heir of the family, saith our author, and was Seigneur de Courtenay, Montargis, Castle-Renaud, Champignelles, Tanlay, Charnay, Chante-coq; and other Seigniouries; and this is he that came over into England, and from whom the Courtenays in England are descended. The author of the life of Lewis the Young saith, that this Reginald de Courtenay, whom he surnames de Montargis, because he had that land in partage, was one of the great men of the realm that went with that King to the Holy Land; and he staid there but a little while, because his brother died by the way, or a little time after he come into the East, and because he was obliged to return to look after his private affairs, is the reason that Bouchet gives. But William Arch-Bishop of Tyre, in his History does say, that the Emperour of Germany, and Lewis, surnamed the Young, King of Franco, who went into the Holy Land with great armies, did nothing considerable, being betrayed by the Syrians at the Siege of Damascus, and therefore the Emperour went home presently, but the French King staid longer to visit the Holy Land, and to see whether he could be serviceable to the Christians there; but when he found the Count de Blois, and a great many other nobles were gone home, he resolved to go also; and among those nobles that went home before the King, in all likelihood, was Reginald de Courtenay;

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so that he did not go home so soon, as Bouchet thinks, because his brother was dead, for that he seems to say, because he did not hear of him afterwards but he went before the King in company with many other noblest and perhaps because there happened out a difference between the King and the Duke of Normandy, and some other nobles, and Reginald de Courtenay was of the Duke of Normandy's side: but whatever was the reason, it is certain, that he was in France before the return of the King, as appears by a letter of Thibaud Count of Champagne, in which he writes to Sugerius, Abbot of St. Denis, Governour of the Realm in the King's absence, to this affect; This is to let you know, that Renaud de Courtenay hath done great injury to the King, as to you, who are the guardian of the realm; for he hath seized on certain royal merchants that are the King's subjects, who have discharged their toll at Orleans and at Sens, and satisfied for all the customs or duties that are paid in the King's territories, and moreover hath stripped them of all their goods: it is therefore necessary, that you order him, in the King's name, and in yours, that they be set at liberty, and that all that belongs to them be restored to them again: but in case he should refuse to obey this orders and you should be desirous to march an army against him, to compel him thereto, let me know it, and I will send you aid, that you may be able to bring him to his obedience

By which letter, as Bouchet saith, it appears, not only that the King was absent when this was done, but that Renaud de Courtenay was one of the most powerful Seigneurs of the Realm, because he could not be forced to give an account of what he had done without marching a considerable army against him.

This Reginald de Courtenay, when he was in France, married a sister of Guy du Donjon, one of the most famous Chevaliers of that time, that took his original from the ancient Counts of Corbeil; he had by her two daughters, the younger was married to Avelon, Seigneur de Selegny, in the diocese of Auxerre, of whom there is nothing more said. The elder, married Elizabeth, was married to Peter the youngest son of Lewis le Grosse King of France, who upon his marriage took the name and arms of Courtenay: and this Peter, as we have shewn, was the first of the family of Courtenay that claim the privileges and rank of Princes of the Blood, next to the House of Bourbon, of which we have spoken in the Second Part of this History; and that Renaud, or Reginald de Courtenay, father of this Princess Elizabeth, was he that came into England with Henry II. and was the first of the Family of Courtenay in England seems plain; for we do not read of any Courtenay in England before the time of Henry II. and we find him in England accompanying Henry II. almost wheresoever he went: and the reason of his coming home from the Holy Land before King Lewis, was, in all likelihood, as I said; because there happened to be a great difference between King Lewis and his Queen, who went with him to the Holy Land; and the Duke of Normandy, and Reginald de Courtenay, with some other of the Nobles, sided with the Queen; and this difference & rising in the Holy Land, might make Reginald de Courtenay to use the King's subjects as he did, and to be at open defiance with the King: for the nobility of France at that time had greater power and authority that they have now, and were not so much under the command of the King as they now are. And King Lewis being divorced from his Queen, Eleanor, who was the Dutchess of Aquitaine and Countess of Poictiers, Reginald de Courtenay was instrumental in making the match between her and the Duke of Normandy, who was afterwards

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King of England, by the name of Henry II. and by that means was in great favour both with the King and Queen: and, no doubt, upon the King's promising greatly to promote him in England, he left all his estate to Peter the King's brothers who married his daughter about the time he came into England, and made him promise upon their marriage to take the name and arms of Courtenay; and he had not been here long before the King procured for him a rich match; for he married Hawise, the daughter and heir of Robert de Abrincis, or Averinches, by whom he was Baron of Oakhampton, Hereditary Sheriff or Viscount of Devonshire, and Governour of the Castle of Exeter. Bouchet, in his Genealogical History, doth not say any thing of this Reginald, father of the Princess Elizabeth, after his seizing the merchants neither does he say when he died, or where he was buried; which is an argument that he came over here, seeing the French historians do make no mention of him after that action. Indeed Bouchet saith he believes, that Athon, who first fortified Courtenay, and gave that name to the family, had, beside his son Josceline, that is mentioned in history, another son, that came with William the Conqueror into England, and gave original to the family there; and this he says, because he could not tell the original of the family in England, and he knew nothing of Reginald de Courtenay's coming hither; and because, in Du Cheyne's History of Normandy, he finds the name of Courtenay amongst those that came in with William the Conqueror. But in the continuator of Aimon's History, from which he has an account of the family, there is no mention of any other son that Athon had besides Josceline. And as for the Roll of Battle-Abbey, it has, as Fuller observes, been often practised upon, and has had several additions made in it from time to time.

After the Conquest, a great many French of great quality came into England, at several times, chiefly at the marriage of King Henry II. with Queen Eleanor, who brought him the Dukedom of Aquitain and County of Poitiers; and then at the marriage of Edward II. with Isabel daughter of Philip the Fair, when three thousand French came over and settled here, which was complained of as a great grievance and the names of many of these, no doubt, were put into the Catalogue of those that came over with William the Conqueror, and particularly that of Courtenay; for in those catalogues or copies of Roll-Abbey, in which Courtenay is put, there is an R put before it; and there was no Courtenay, whose Christian name began with the letter R, as the pedigree doth shew, before Reginald de Courtenay, father of Elizabeth, the wife of Peter of France, who come into England with Henry II. And Cambden, in his Remains, doth say, Whoever doth consider the Roll of Battle-Abbey shall find it forged, and those to be inserted which the times in every age favoured, and were never mentioned in the authentical record. There is a copy of Battle-Abbey Roll in Stow, another in Hallinshed; but they do agree neither in the number, order, or spelling of names: in both these the name of Courtenay is. And John Bromton, in his Chronicle, puts Courtenay amongst those that came in with William the Conquerors but in the Catalogue that is in the Chronicle of Normandy, written in French by William Tayleur, Courtenay is not.

Reginald, or Renaud de Courtenay, then, the first of the family in England, came here with Queen Eleanor, wife to King Henry II. And this Holland, in his Additions to Cambden's Britannia, doth says he was brought hither, saith he, by Henry II. and by him advanced with the marriage of the heir of the Barony of Oakhampton, for that he procured

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the marriage between the said King and Eleanor heir of Poitiers and Aquitain; but whether he was branched from the House of Courtenay before it was matched into the Royal Blood of France, or after, which our Monks affirm, but Du Tillet, Keeper of the Records of France, doubteth, I may say something in another place thus saith Dr. Holland. Du Tillat did think that he was descended from the Counts of Edessa; but it appears to the contrary by the first part of this history. The Monks of Ford-Abbey, in their Register, do say, that the family of Courtenay in England is descended from Florus, son of Lewis le Grosse, and so does Sir William Dugdale, and other of our historians after theme but Lewis le Grosse had no son called Florus; for it was Peter, the youngest son of Lewis le Grosse, that was the first of the family of Courtenay in France, as all the French historians say; and Reginald de Courtenay, first of that family in England, could not be descended from him, as the time in which each of them did live doth shew: they went both of them, together with Lewis surnamed the Young, into the Holy Land, in the year 1147, and a little time after they came back, Reginald came into England, in the year 1151; and Bouchet saith, that Peter, son of Lewis le Grosse, married Elizabeth daughter of Reginald de Courtenay, after the year 1150; so that it is impossible that Reginald de Courtenay should be the son of Peter the King's son, but was, as it seems plain, the father of his wife. And in the discourse that King James 1. had with the Princes of Courtenay, that came over in his time, to desire that King to use his interest with the Court of France, that they might have the rank and privileges of Princes of the Blood, which was then denied them, in that discourse the King saith to them, There are some in England of your name whom I love and esteem; and the Princes of Courtenay made answer, that they were of the elder houses as we may see in the End of Bouchet, among the records of that family. The Monks of Ford might say, that Reginald de Courtenay was descended from Florus, son of Lewis le Grosse, through ignorance or they might do it to aggrandize the family, who were their patrons; but they had no need to do that; for Bouchet saith, that Elizabeth de Courtenay, with whom Peter the King's son did marry, was descended by her father from Robert King of France, and that they were near a-kin in blood, as he shews by a genealogical tablet and he saith moreover, that she was a person that was allied to some of the greatest families of that age; and in his book he reckons them up, and shews who they were: and that the family of Courtenay is descended from the some original with this in England although by a female, as has been shewn) is proved, because they have the same coat of arms, viz. In a Field Or, three Torteaux: and it is observable, that a younger daughter of Peter of France and Elizabeth de Courtenay his wife, was named Eustachia, and so was the daughter of Gilbert, Lord of Burcester, and Egeline his wife, daughter of Reginald de Courtenay here in England.

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CHAPTER II.

Reginald de Courtenay then, first of the family in England, came into England with Henry II. and Eleanor his wife, in the year 1151, as was said before, and he married Hawise daughter of Robert de Abrincis; and he was by her Hereditary Viscount or Sheriff of Devonshire, and Baron of Okehampton: she and her sister Matilda came into the King's hands as warder and the King granted the wardship of them to Reginald de Courtenay, a famous soldier and nobleman, saith the Register of Ford-Abbey, and he took to himself the eldest, and the young, Matilda, he disposed of, as shall be shewn in the next chapter.

After King William I. had conquered this kingdom, he gave to those great men that came over with him, and signalized themselves in his service, great estates; and amongst those there was on Baldwin de Brioniis, (so named from a place in Normandy) to him William the Conqueror gave large lands, and conferred upon him great honours: he was also called Baldwin de Molis, and Baldwin de Sep, from other places in Normandy: he was second son unto Gilbert de Crispin, Count de Brioniis, son of Godfrey Count de Ewe, natural son unto Richard, the first of that name, Duke of Normandy, great-grand father to the Conqueror: he married Albreda niece to the Conqueror, being his sister's daughter, and had by her a son named Richard, and a daughter named Adeliza, or Adelia; and because Baldwin was so near of kin to King William, and because he greatly assisted him in his conquests, therefore did the King confer on him the Barony of Okehampton, to be held of the King, and gave it to his and his heirs for ever; he gave also to him the Castle of Exeter, and the custody of the whole County of Devon, for an annual rent to be paid to the King; upon the account of which he was called Viscount or Sheriff of Devonshire, and is so stiled in Domesday-Book; for in that it is said, Baldwinus Vicecomitis tenet Ockementum de Domino Rege & ibi habet Castellum quatuor Burgenses & Mercatum. This Barony of Okehampton was a noble barony, and it was held of the King by the service of three knights, and had ninety two knights fees belonging to its and Baldwin the Viscount had besides the manours of Sampford, Duelton, Chymleigh, Kenn, Whimble, and Musberrie, all in the County of Devon; in all which he had Furcas and Tumbrell, and all other things which do belong unto the view of frankpledge, together with the advowsons of the churches he had also free-chase unto the ends of the forest of Dartmore, and free-warden in all his lands lying within the County of Devon.

To Baldwin succeeded his son Richard, who, as he was a stout soldier in his younger years, so was he in his elder days very devout and much given to acts of piety, say the Monks of Ford; and he gave all his lands at Brightly, in the Parish of Chittle-hampton, in the north part of Devonshire, within the honour of Okehampton, for the founding of an abbey there for monks of the Cistercian Order, It was begun in the 33d year of the reign of King Henry I. in the year 1132, and in the 1st of King Stephen he placed therein twelve monks of that order: these monks, at his request, were sent from the Abbey of Waverly in the Diocese of Winchester, in the County of Surrey, by Gilbert the Abbot of that places and they set out from Waverly on Holyrood-day, and went with Richard

their abbot, by way of procession, with the cross carried before them and when they were come to Brightly, the Viscount devoutly received them, and made a deed, by which he gave them a right to the abbey and the lands that he had appropriated to it; and so having obtained his desire, he did not coast to help them in carrying on the buildings, and providing things necessary for them 'till his death, which happened on the 7th of July, or 25th of June, in the year 1137, in the second year of King Stephen, and was buried in the chapel belonging to that monastery his bones were afterwards, with the body of Richard the Abbott, carried by the monks to Ford-Abbey, and there put in distinct graves in the choir near the high altar. This Richard de Brioniis had no child, but left his whole estate and honours to his sister Adelicia, who was his heir, and after him called Viscountess of Devonshire: and after the monks had staid five years in the monastery of Brightly, after the death of their patron, by reason of the barrenness of their country, and their want of necessaries, they were not able to stay there any longer, and they were forced, with Robert de Penington, their second Abbot, to return to their old house of Waverly, whom, when the Viscountess saw going through her manour of Thorncomb, two and two with the cross before them, as they went down she called them to her; and when they had declared the cause of their returning, she, being much grieved, said unto them, 'Far be it from me, Holy Fathers, that I should lie under such a great disgrace, as not to be able or willing to perfect that which my lord and brother Richard the Viscount had begun, for the honour of GOD, and for the good of you all: Behold my manour in which you stand is a fertile place, and aboundeth with fruits of all sorts; I do give it you for ever in exchange for your barren country of Brightly, with my mansion-house in which I live stay here, until in some other part of the manour there be a monastery built more fit to receive you, and I will help you all that I can to build it." And so that pious and religious lady gave to the monks for ever her seat, or principal house of the manour of Thorncomb, which was then called Ford, but now Westford, and in that house they lived near six years, until there was some convenient building, in the manner of a monastery, erected for them, in a place called Heresbath, but now Ford, from a ford or passage through the River Ax, near which it standeth. Mr. Tanner, in his *Notitia Monastical* says, that the monastery of Brightly was built by Richard Redvers, Sheriff of Devonshire, in the year 1136; and that in the year 1142, the monks were removed to Ford, by Adelicia, wife to Richard de Brioniis: thus he confounds the two families, de Brioniis and de Ripariis, or Redvers, together, one whereof was Hereditary Viscount or Sheriff of Devonshire, being made so by William the Conqueror, and the other made Earls of Devonshire by King Henry I. He might be led into this mistake by Sir William Dugdale, who does more that once take one for the other; and the ground of the mistake might be, because the Family of Courtenay did descend from both of them, and did enjoy the lands and honours of both; and whereas Mr. Tanner says it was Adelicia, the wife of Richard, that placed the monks in Ford, she was not his wife, but his sister.

This Abbey of Ford was finished in the year 1142, and dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary, and at the suppression of it was valued at 374 L.10s. 6 d. ob. The last abbot was Thomas Chard: He was born at Tracey, in the Parish of Auliscombe in Devonshire, and educated in St. Bernard's College, now St. John Baptist in Oxford, and took his Doctor's Degree in Divinity October

1505, 22 Henry VII, being stiled in the publick Register, Vir Doctrina & Virtute clarus, to which place, being afterwards a benefactor, his memory was preserved, as a token of it, in several of the glass windows in that house; particularly in a middle chamber window on the south side of the tower, over the common gate of the college tower, where was, if not still, his name contracted in golden letters in an escutcheon sable, and hath behind it, pale-ways, an Abbot's Crosier: he repaired, built, and adorned much of his monastery, which I think, says Mr. Wood, he lived to see dissolved. Mr. Prince and Mr. Wood say, that he founded an hospital in Honiton; but I think it is a mistake; for that is a lazarus, or an hospital for leprous persons, built long before his time. The manour of Thorncomb, in which Ford stands, was, with other manours, given to Baldwin, father of Richard, by William the Conqueror; and because it did belong to the Viscount or Governour of Devonshire, therefore it is highly probable it was made part of Devonshire, although it lies off from other parts of Devonshire, and is encompassed with Dorsetshire and Somersetshire.

The Lady Adelicia, foundress of Ford-Abbey, was married to a certain nobleman whose name is unknown, and had by his one only daughter named Alicia, who was her heir; and in the second year after the translation of the monks from Brightly to Ford, in the 7th year of King Stephen, in the year 1142, August 24, this Viscountess died, and was buried in the Chapel of the Monastery of Ford, and her only daughter Alicia succeeded her in the honour of Okehampton, and had also the custody of the County of Devon, under an annual rent, and the Castle of Exeter: she married Randolph Avenel, by whom she had one only daughter named Matilda, or Maud, which Matilda, her parents being dead, had all that her mother possessed she was twice married, first to Robert de Abrincis or Averinchis. Mr. Camden in his remains says, that there was one Simon de Albranc, or Albrancor de Averingis, that was Lord of Falkstone, and one of the eight barons, to each of whom many knights fees were assigned for the defence of Dover Castle, and each of them to maintain a tower there: Simon de Abrincis arms were, five cheverons Gules, in a field Dr.

Robert de Abrincis, above-mentioned, had by his wife Matilda three daughters, one named Hawise, and two others that were nuns: Robert de Abrincis being dead, his Lady Matilda married again to Robert, natural son of Henry 1. King of England, by whom she had another daughter, called after her own name Matilda. Matilda, the mother, was, as the monks say, a great benefactress to the monks of Ford, and did bear towards them the affections of a mother; and she gave at one time to the value of sixty marks to her intercessours, as she called them, and at several other times she conferred upon them many large gifts. Her second husband, Robert, natural son to Henry I. died the last day of May, 1172, and the Viscountess his wife, called Matilda de Abrincis, September 21, 1173. The 19th of Henry II. both her daughters came into the hands of King Henry as wards, as was said before, and the King granted the wardship of them to Reginald de Courtenay, and he took to himself the eldest of them, viz. Hawise, as being most noble, being stiled Viscountess, and the younger, Matilda, he gave to William de Courtenay, his son that he had by a former wife in Normandy, so say the monks of Ford. But if the French historians say true, William was not his son, but his brother; besides he did not come from Normandy, as the monks say, but from a town called Courtenay in Gastinois in France.

Sir William Pole, a learned antiquary and a diligent searcher into the records in Devonshire, doth give a different account of the family de Brioniis: he says that Baldwin de Brioniis had issue Richard, Adela, and Emma; Adela was married to a Kentish knight, and died without issue; Emma was first married to William Avenel, by whom she had issue Ralph; and secondly to William de Abrincis, by whom she had Robert. Richard de Brioniis loved Robert de Abrincis, and caused all the tenants of the manours belonging to his barony of Okehampton to swear fealty to his, as their lords shortly after the said Robert departed out of England, and took to wife a daughter of Godwin Dole, beyond the seas, and begot on her Matilda his daughter, who was married to the Lord of Aincourt. Richard Lord of Okehampton, and Robert de Abrincis dying, Adela, the eldest sister of Richard, succeeded in the inheritance, and made Ralph Avenel, eldest son of her sister Emma, to succeed her in the honour of Okehampton, unto whom Reginald, Earl of Cornwall, uncle to King Henry 11. offered his daughter in marriage but the said Ralph neglecting the offer, and taking to wife a daughter of Richard de Redvers, Earl of Devonshire, Reginald Earl of Cornwall grew angry, and swore he would cause him to lose the honour of Okehampton; and he did it, by sending for Matilda, the daughter of Robert de Abrincis, remaining beyond the seas.

King Henry II. by the advice of the said Reginald Earl of Cornwall, gave the said Matilda to Roberts natural son to King Henry 1. and brother to the said Reginald, who begat on her Matilda, who, after the death of her father Robert, was married unto Reginald de Courtenay, whom Queen Eleanor brought with her into England: also the King gave unto William de Courtenay, son of the said Reginald, the manour of Button near Oxford: which William, by the advice and command of his father, took unto wife Hawise, the sister of Matilda, his father's wife by a former husband, and begat on her Robert de Courtenay.

Matilda\$ the wife of Reginald de Courtenay, continuing barren, the honour of Okehampton came unto Robert de Courtenay, son of Hawise de Aincourt, who took unto wife Mary de Redvers, daughter of William de Redvers, sirnamed de Vernon, Earl of Devonshire, whose posterity afterwards came to be earls of Devon; so saith Sir William Pole in his account of the Barony of Okehampton, put before his View of Devonshire; and he says, that his account is taken out of the Leiger-Book of Okehampton.

Sir William Dugdale, and zone other writers, do give the same account of the family de Brioniis, that the register of Ford-Abbey does, and they do take it from that; but Mr. Westcott, in his view of Devonshire, does follow Sir William Pole; and so does Mr. Prince, in his Worthies of Devon; but which of the two is the right account, it is not material at this distance of time to know but I think that Reginald de Courtenay married Hawise the older sister, and William, Matilda the younger; and that for these reason; because Hawise being the older sister did carry with the Barony of Okehampton to her husband: and it is plain, that William was never Baron of Okehampton, but Reginald; and both Reginald and Hawise were benefactors to the Abbey of Ford, if the monks say trust and were buried there, and the time of their deaths is registered in the Abbey-Registers but neither William or Matilda are mentioned by them as patrons or benefactors; neither were they buried there, nor is there any mention made of them in the register at all: but certainly there would be mention made of Matilda, if she had been Baroness of Okehampton, and wife to Reginald de Courtenay: and

besides, there was a monument erected in Ford-Abbey Chapel for Robert de Courtenay, Baron of Okehampton, who immediately succeeded Reginald; and the inscription that was upon it said, that he was the son of Reginald, and not the son of William, as Sir William Pole doth says and one would think, that if there had been no such monument, or no such inscription, the monks would not have put it in their register. The reason why Sir William Pole did say, that Robert de Courtenay was son of William, and not of Reginald, might be because he did find in some deeds, that William had a son called Robert: but it is plain there were two Robert's de Courtenay, one the son of Reginald, and the other the son of William, as we shall shew hereafter.

Dr. Kennet, in his Parochial Antiquities, does in one place say, that Matilda was widow of William de Courteney; and afterwards in another place, that she was wife of Reginald, (forgetting what he had said before) but he finding that there was a law-suit between Matilda de Courtenay and the prior of Burcester, about some lands in Waddesden, and that Matilda did say, that she had those land as a portion from Reginald de Courtenay, this made him say, contrary to what he had said before, that she was the wife of Reginald de Courtenay: but Reginald might give these lands to her as a portion, because he had with her sister the whole Barony of Okehampton.

Reginald de Courtenay then married Hawise, the heiress of the Barony of Okehampton, and was by her not only Baron of Okehampton, but Viscount likewise of Devonshire, and Governour of the Castle of Exeter; and he was in great favour with King Henry II. for he did accompany him almost wherever he went, and was with him in his wars; for he was esteemed a noble and valiant soldier: and that he was often with him, we may learn from his being a witness to many deeds and charters that the King made.

John Bromton in his Chronicle says, that there was an agreement made between King Henry II. and Roderick King of Connought, in the Octaves of St. Michael, 1175, witnessed by Richard Bishop of Winchester and Reginald de Courtenays and Sir William Dugdale has, in his Monasticon Aglicanum, several charters made by this King, to which Reginald de Courtenay was a witness. King Henry II. granted to the nuns of Clerkenwell near London the ground whereon their house stood, and the witnesses to this grant were, William Bishop of London and Reginald de Courtenay: and Reginald de Courtenay is also a witness to a charter, wherein King Henry II. confirmed to the Church of St. James in Bristol, all that William Earl of Gloucester had granted to its he is also a witness to a charter of that King, wherein he confirmed the grant of Robert Earl of Leicester, and to the Church of St. Mary de Lira, and the monks serving GOD there, dated at Chinon: he is likewise a witness to a charter of that King, wherein he confirms the gift made to St. Mary de Swineshead, and the monks serving GOD there: and again Reginald de Courtenay is a witness to a charter made by that King of the foundation of the abbey of Witham in Somersetshire, which charter was dated at Marleborough: a charter of the foundation of St. Mary de Voto at Charbury, that is dated at Roan, is witnessed by Reginald de Courtenay. There is a charter likewise by this King for the foundation of a collegiate-church in Waltham in Normandy, witnessed by Reginald de Courtenay: he is a witness likewise to a charter of Henry II. concerning an immunity of the hermitage of Wadhern in the County of Essex, dated at Westminster: he is likewise a witness to a charter of that King, wherein he confirms the gift made to the Abbey of Gemet in Normandy, dated

at Roan: He is also a witness to a charter of that King, wherein he confirms the gift of William son of Adelicius, the King's sewer, to the church of St. Thomas in Dublin, dated at Oxford, And Dr. Kennet, in his Parochial Antiquities, says, that to a charter of King Henry II. made to the church of St. Austin in Canterbury, dated 1177, 23 and 24 of that King's reign, are witnesses, Gilbert Lord of Burcester, Reginald de Courtenay his father-in-law, and Thomas Basset his brother. And Sir William Dugdale saith, that in the 14th of Henry II. Reginald de Courtenay, having obtained the wardship of Walter de Bulbech, accounted 6 l. 14 s. 3 d. for the knights fees of his inheritance.

The monks of Ford do say, that he continued the devotion and affection of his ancestors towards GOD and the monks of Ford; and besides other things, that he did for their defence, and for the enlarging of their privileges, he commended himself to their prayers, by giving to them one hundred marks in money, besides many other gifts: for, say they, he trusted more to their prayers than to his lands and estates: being therefore beloved both by GOD and man, and his memory blessed, he died September 27, 1194, 6th of Richard I. and was buried at Ford in the north side of the chance. His wife, who was called from him Hawise de Courtenay, lived a widow for some time, and whilst she was so, was intent upon doing works of charity and piety, and she gave to her abbey of Ford her land in Herbeyne, for the maintenance of three poor people in the infirmary for ever; and other good things she did for the abbey, she died, in a good old age; the last day of July, 1209, the 10th of King John, and was buried in the abbey-church of Ford in the south side of the chancel,

Reginald de Courtenay, Lord of Okehampton, and Viscount of Devon, had by Hawise his wife, 1. Robert, who succeeded him in all his titles and estates: 2. Reginald; and that he had a son named Reginald appears from a deed that Hawise de Courteney made, which was witnessed by Robert and Reginald her sons. 3. Henry. Dr. Kennet says, that in the year 1182, 29 Henry II. Gilbert Basset, Baron of Hedington, and Lord of the manours of Burchester, Wretch-wich, and Stratton, who had his mansion-house and park of Burcester, founded a religious house for a prior and eleven canons of the Augustine Order, dedicated to St. Edburg, with consent of Egeline de Courtenay his wife: amongst other witnesses to the grant was Henry de Courteney. This name Reginald gave to one of his sons, in all likelihood, in respect to his great benefactor King Henry II. 4. Egeline de Courtenay: she was married to Gilbert Basset, Baron of Hedington; and he had with her some land in the manour of Waddesden in Buckinghamshire, which manour was given to Reginald de Courtenay by King Henry II. Gilbert Basset had by Egeline de Courtenay one son called Thomas, who died young, and a daughter named Eustachia, married to Richard de Camvil; and he had by her one daughter named Idonea, who was married to William Longspee, Earl of Salisbury, son to William Longspee, Earl of Salisbury, who was natural son to Henry II. by Rosamond Clifford. There was one Gervais de Courtenay in those days: it is probable he was the natural son of Reginald; for he had some lands given his in Musberrie, which was part of the Barony of Okehampton, and did belong to Reginald; he married the only daughter of Sir William Tracy, who was one of those that killed Thomas a-Becket, and he had by her a son named William, who took the name of Tracy, because his mother was an heiress; and this William Tracy, son of Sir Gervais Courtenay, gave to the canons of Torr all his lands that he had in North Chillingford, which he held of Dru Mongirum, and the grant was made 10 Richard I.

CHAPTER III.

William de Courtenay, first of that name, is by all our historians said to be the son of Reginald de Courtenay: but if Bouchet the French historian does say true, he was not his son, but his brother; for he says, that Reginald, whilst he was in France, had no son, but only two daughters, the eldest of which was married to Peter the King's son: he saith indeed, that Reginald de Courtenay had a brother called William, who went with him to the Holy Land, when Lewis surnamed the Young, and Peter the King's brother went thither; and that before he went he gave in alms to the abbey of Fountain-jean forty shillings a year rent to provide lights for the church. And Favine says, William Courtenay qui fait inter Milites Cruce signatos, who was one amongst those soldiers that crossed themselves to go to the Holy Land, bore Or, Three Torteaux, Gules.

The monks of Ford, whom all our historians do follow, say, that he was the son of Reginald which he had in Normandy, before he came into England: but, as was observed before, Reginald de Courtenay was not of Normandy, but of Gastinois in France; and if the monks were mistaken in that particular, why might they not be in another? I rather therefore think that he was his brother. Bouchet does say indeed, that William, Reginald de Courtenay's brother, died as he was going to the Holy Land, or in a little time after he came there: but this he said, because he could find no mention made of him in history afterwards.

This William de Courtenay then, in all probability, come into England with his brother Reginald, being invited over by Henry II. and Eleanor his Queen; and being in England, he married Matilda, younger sister to Hawise, Reginald de Courtenay's wife: she was, as was said before, daughter of Robert, natural son to Henry 1.

King Henry had two natural sons named Robert; first, he that was Earl of Gloucester, who did valiantly fight for the Emperess Maud against King Stephen, and took the King prisoner. This Robert Earl of Gloucester was the King's son, by Nesta daughter of Rice ap Tudor, Prince of South Wales, and he married Mabel the daughter of Robert Fitz-Hamon, Earl of Gloucester: But King Henry I. had this son Robert, who married Matilda, by Edith, sister to Ive, son to Forms, son to Segewolf, great Barons in the north: and no wonder that the King had two sons called by the same name; for Speed, in his Chronicle, reckons up thirteen natural children of his. This Robert that married Matilda, Baroness of Okehampton, was from his mother named Robert Fitz-Ede; and he is, by Mr. Camden, put the third in his Catalogue of Earls Marshals of England, which catalogue is in the last edition of his Britannia: and as he was Earl Marshal of England, so was he, in right of his wife, Baron of Okehampton, and, as such, did make a deed, in which he did grant to Richard Floier, Hays in the Parish of St. Thomas near Exeter, that estate to be held of him and his heirs, as Richard his grand-father, son of Floier, held it, upon condition, that as often as he, or any of his heirs, should dine in Ex-Island, (for that Island was then a manour belonging to the Barony of Okehampton) that the tenant for the time being shall wait upon them decently apparelled, with a clean towel upon his arm, a flaggon of wine in one hand, and a silver bowl in the other, and so shall offer to serve them with wine, and this grant was afterwards

renewed by one of the Earls of Devonshire of the family of Courtenay, as he was Baron of Okehampton, This Robert, natural son to King Henry 1. father of Matilda, wife to William de Courtenay, died the last day of May, as was said before, 1172, and his lady Matilda, 21 September, 1173, 19 Henry II. Edith, the mother of this Robert, King Henry I. gave in marriage to Robert D'oily, Baron of Hooknorton in Oxfordshire, and with her gave his the manour of Eleydon in the County of Buckingham, by whom he had issue Robert D'oily, who often mentioneth this Robert in his charters, ever calling his Robert his brother the King's son: and Robert, in a charter of his, says, I Robert, son of King Henry, by the counsel of Henry D'oiley my brother, and other friends, do grant to St.Mary de Dsney (to which I have given Myself whether in life or death) ten yards of lands in my manour of wanting, for the soul of King Henry my father, This Osney Abbey was built by Robert D'oiley, Anno 1129, 30 Henry 1. and there was this Robert Fitz-Ede buried; for we see he gives himself to it, whether in life or deaths and although Ford-Abbey register does say when he died, yet it does not say where he was buried; and if he had been buried in that abbey, it would have mentioned it. But to return to William de Courtenay, who married his daughter he was Governour of Montgomery Castle, and he possessed several lands in Oxfordshire, Berkshire, Shropshire, and Northamptonshire, as Sir William Pole saith. King John, in the 9th year of his reign, commanded the Earl of Shrewsbury and the constable of Montgomery, that they presently, upon sight of his letters patents, do deliver up to William de Courtenay the Castle of Montgomery; with all the appurtenances, because we have restored it to him as his right, saith the King. In that same year William de Courtenay likewise gave a fine to the King of four hundred marks for wardship of the lands of Baldwin de Buillers, which were of his inheritance. I cannot find when he died, saith Sir William Dugdale: in the 12th year of King John he built the Priory of Warspring in Somersetshire, for canons of the Augustine order, in memory of St.Thomas the Martyrs its yearly revenues at the dissolution were 87 l. 2 s. 11 d. ob. and he did not live long after that.

The children of William de Courtenay, first of that name, were, 1. William, who succeeded him in his estate. 2. Reginald; and that he had a son so called in plain; for Dr.Kennet says, that about the year 1193, Gilbert Basset and Egeline his wife gave to the Priory of Burcester all their lands of Wedesdon and Westcote, etc. to which deed Reginald de Courtenay is a witness, and calls himself Filius Willihelmi, but I can learn nothing more of him. 3. Robert; of him I shall speak hereafter; and it is likely he had a daughter or daughters; for Sir William Dugdale saith, that in the 26th of Henry III, William de Cantilupe and Vitalis Engaine, two great men of that age, laid claim to the Lordship of Badmundesfield in the County of Suffolk, as heirs to William de Courtenay.

William de Courtenay, second of that name, was son of William de Courtenay and Matilda his wife. King John, in the 16th year of his reign, sent to the Bishop of Winchester, Lord Chancellour of England, saying, We command you that you search the record of our exchequer, aed certisie us of the sum of the debt that William de Courtenay oweth unto us; and in the mean time that ye suffer him to be quiet. And in the same year William de Courtenay paid his escuage for not doing his service in Poictou in France; and in this year he died; for in this year King John sent a writ to the sheriff of Northampton, rehearsing how he had

renewed by one of the Earls of Devonshire of the family of Courtenay, as he was committed to Ads de Courtenay the Manour of Boltwick, commanding him to deliver it up unto herl and the like writ he sent unto the Sheriff of Essex, the next year, for the delivering into her hands the Manour of Upoinster. This Ada de Courtenay might be his wife, but he had no issue by her. 3. The third son of William de Courtenay was Roberti he married Alicia de Romelic, daughter of William, son of Duncan, Earl of Murrayse. This William Duncan had three daughter% the oldest named Cecilia, being a ward, was married by King Henry 11. to William de Gross, Earl of Albomarlei she had the honour of Skipton for her dower. The second, named Amabills, was married to Reginald de Lucit, with the Honour of Egremond, by the some King; and the third, named Alicia, was married to Gilbert Pipard by the same King Henry 11. and afterwards by the Queen to Robert de Courtenay, who had with her Aspetrick and the Barony of Allerdale, and the liberty of Cokermouth. This Robert de Courtenay was Sheriff of Cumberland in the 5th year of King Johni He died young without any issue, in the 11th year of King John, Anno 1209 for in that year Alice de Romelic his wifew who out-lived him, gave a fine to the King of 500 l. ten pelfreys, and ten oxen, to have livery of the lands of her own inheritance in as full a manner as she had before she married himl and to have a reasonable dower assigned out of the lands of both her husbandslas also that she might not be compelled to marry againi and in that same year Robert de Courtenay, son of Reginald, was forced to pay to the King four hundred marks\$ and two great horses, for the livery of the Manour of Sutton, which fell to him upon the death of his cousin dying without issue.

CHAPTER IV.

Robert de Courtenay, son of Reginald, was, after his father, Baron of Okehamptong Yiscount of Devon, and Governour of the Castle of Exeter. In the 7th year of King John, Anno 1205, he gave 500 l. and five palfreys, to have livery of the Barony of Okehampton, with the knights-fees thereunto belonging, which were in number no less than ninety two, and the third part of one, as appeareth upon levying the escutage in Irelandl in the 12th of King John, and that of Walesq in the 13th of the same Kingi and in the lith of King John, he gave unto the King four hundred marks, and two great horses, for the livery of the Manour of Sutton in Berkshire# as was said before. And in the some year4 upon the death of his mother Hawise, he undertook to pay twelve hundred marks more, that he might receive the homages for the Barony of Okehamptong then in the King's handsa and in the next year following to be quitted of the debt, he covenanted to serve the King with twenty men at arms for the term of one whole year, to commence on the octaves of St. John Baptist, at his own power charge, wheresocyar the King would appoint. In the 16th of King John, 1214, he was made Governour of Bruges, commonly called Bridgnorth in Shropshirel and the King writ a letter to the constable in these wordsi Know Ye, that we have committed the Castle of Bruges in the County of Shrewsbury, with the appurtenances thereof, to our beloved and faithful Robert de Courtanay, to be kept as long as it shall please usl therefore we command that you deliver

the castle to him and in the same year the King sent a letter to Aymeric de Fascy and Peter Cancall, in these words: We command you to receive into your Castle of Bristol our beloved Robert de Courtenay, and Walter de Verdun, with the soldiers and harquebusses which they shall bring with them, to stay them in the garrison of the said castle and in that year of King John, amongst those that paid oscuage for the journey to Poictou, were Robert Courtenay, William Courtenay, and Baldwin de Ripariiss and again, upon another aid on the marriage of the King's son, the King's collectors do give an account of the fee of the Lord Robert Courtenay of his barony, one hundred eighty four marks three shillings and four pence. In the 17th year of King John, Robert de Courtenay was made Sheriff of Oxfordshire, and Governour of the Castle of Oxford; and in that year, after the King had taken divers of his enemies prisoners, he committed them to the custody of Robert de Courtenay. In the 18th year of King John, the King sent a commission to Robert de Courtenay, and some others, to take security of some that are named in the commission for their faith and due allegiance. In the same year the barons being then in arms against the King, Robert de Courtenay was ordered to take into the City of Exeter William Brewer, who had married his wife's sister, with all his forces, if he thought his own forces with the aid of the citizens should be too weak for the defence thereof and if he could not defend the city, he should retire with his forces into the Castle: and about that time the King commanded Peter de Malolas to deliver to the Chaplain of Robert de Courtenay thirty pounds, to pay the soldiers that were in the Castle of Exeter. For these and other his good services, the King committed to this Robert de Courtenay, the coinage of tin in Devonshire and Cornwall. But afterwards King Henry, in the 1st year of his reign, sent him a writ of discharge for Cornwall, but continued to him that of Devonshire. In this 18th year, which was the last year of the King's reign, the King commanded Robert de Courtenay to deliver to William Brewer the Castle of Lydford, a place then of that importance, (as it seems) that the custody thereof was transmitted with great solemnity from one great person to another. In the 1st year of King Henry 111. he had a great contest with Henry, son of Reginald Earl of Cornwall, about the government of the Castle of Exeter, which was his hereditary right, and descended to him from his ancestors but this Henry would have taken it from him and he had it in his possession for some little time, but the King commanded it to be delivered up to Robert de Courtenay. Upon some especial occasion the next year, this Robert de Courtenay had a safe conduct granted him by the King, there being still it seems some contention about that office and notwithstanding the King's writ, by which Robert de Courtenay was restored to his office, the 1st of Henry 111, yet March 2B, 2 Henry 111. the King committed the Castle of Exeter and County of Devon to Robert de Albemarle to be kept but in May following, the cause of the King's seizing it being removed, he was put into the possession of it again; and notwithstanding his hereditary right, he accepted of the King's grant for it, in the 4th and 5th of Henry 111, as appeareth in the account of Rolls in the Pipe of those years, saith Sir Peter Ball. In the 4th year of that King, he gave the King a palfrey, to have a fair yearly in his manour of Okehampton, on the vigil and feast-day of St. James the Apostle, which remaineth in that place to this day. In the 5th year of the same King, the King having received a spontaneous aid from the clergy, for the better reducing of Fulke de Breent, and other rebels, was pleased, by his Letters Patents, to declare and

protest, That he received that supply out of their meer liberality, and would not bring the same into use or custom; and this is tested at Bedford, when the rebels were besieged in the castle, in the presence of divers great persons, and amongst the rest was Robert de Courtenay.

He continued Viscount of Devon, and Governor of Exeter Castle, until the 16th of Henry III. in which year most of the castles and counties of England bring resumed into the King's hands, the King commanded Robert Courtenay to deliver up the castle of Exeter to Peter de Rival, or Rievaux, as Hoveden saith; and it is apparent by the patent-rolls of that year: which Peter de Rival, being the chief favourite at that time, engrossed almost all the great offices of the kingdom, 'till his own greatness ruined him. And by this means was the family of Courtenay deprived of the honour and profit of the Viscounty of Devon, and government of the Castle of Exeter, after it had been enjoyed by this Robert de Courtenay and his ancestors near two hundred years, from the time of the Conquest down to the 16th year of Henry III. This King had the least reason of any to take it from him; for in the custody of this castle he had done his father King John signal service in the Barons Wars, always remaining firm and constant to him in these turbulent times; and he had always been faithful to King Henry III. himself; for this King committed to him the custody of the Castle of Plympton which did belong to William Earl of Devon, and was seized for some contempt. But the King not thinking it safe for himself, that the castles of England should be out of his own power, in regard there was no good agreement between him and divers of the Barons, took the Castle of Exeter, together with the other castles of England, into his own hands.

After this Robert de Courtenay was no more named Viscount of Devon, but being content with his Barony of Okehampton, and his other lands, he flourished much, say the Monks of Ford, and was famous for his justice, valour, and liberality they say likewise, that he was extraordinary kind to them, was very sollicitous about their welfare, and took especial care that no one should trouble them, or do them any injury; and he was used to say, That he had a most beautiful feather in his train, viz. the House of Ford, that was under his protection and patronage and he did often call the monks his fathers and patrons, whereas he was their chief patron and protector, and had, as it were, all things in common with them.

Henry de Pomeray, second son of Joel, who married a natural daughter of King Henry 1. gave to the whole village of Tale, in the Parish of Pehembury in the County of Devon, to the Abbey of Ford, reserving several secular services, and a pair of gilt spurs to be paid yearly. But in this Lord Robert Courtenay's time, Geoffrey Pomeray claimed the lands of Tale which the monks did possess; but upon Robert Courtenay's giving him fifty marks sterling, he released the abbey of all services, and resigned all right and title to those lands: this was done when John Warwich was abbot.

Robert Courtenay, Baron of Okehampton, gave likewise some lands in the Parish of Woolbrough to the Abbey of Torr, founded by William Brewers, who had married his wife's sister: and the grant, to which is affixed his seal, in which is his effigies on horseback in armour, with his name round it on one side, and the arms of Courtenay on the other, is in the custody of the Honourable Sir William Courtenay of Powderham Castle, into whose hands the lands, which were so long ago given by his ancestor, are reverted again. He gave likewise the prebend of

Ash-cliff to that Abbey, which was one the four prebends that did belong to the chapel of the Castle of Exeter. This Robert de Courtenay, after he had spent his life in prosperity, say the Monks of Ford, died at his manour-house of Iwerne, in the County of Dorset, July 26, 1242, 26 Hen. III. and, according as he had ordered in his life-time, he was carried on the 28th of July to the Abbey of Ford, and was buried in the chancel of the church there with great pomp, in the second year of Abbot Adam, and there was erected to his memory a stately monument, in the fore of a pyramid, on which was engraven his effigies in armour, with this inscription;

Hic jacet ingenui de Courtenay Gleba Roberti,
Militis egregii virtutum laude referti;
Quem genuit sirenuus Reginaldus Cortiniensis,
Qui procer eximius suerat tunc Devonienſis.

" Here lyeth the body of Robert Courtenay,
" A knight renown'd for feats of war,
" The son of valiant Reginald,
" A noble man of Devonshire."

Mr. Camden in his Remains says, "Robert de Courtenay was buried in Ford, as appeareth by the Register of that place, 1242, under a stately pyramis, who, whether he was descended from the Earls of Edessa, or from Peter the son of Lewis le Grosse, King of France, had but this bad inscription, which I insert more for the honour of the name that the worth of the verse." But I think the verse is much the same with the rest of the epitaphs of that age. Mr. Prince in his Worthies has this epitaph also; but instead of Reginald he has put in William, because Sir William Pole, through a mistake, had said, that this Robert was the son of William; but which soever of them was the right, he should no have been so bold as to alter it, but he should have put it down as he found it.

This Robert Lord Courtenay married Mary the younger daughter of William de Redvers, Earl of Devonshire, by whom his posterity some time after came to be Earls of Devonshire; of which family de Redvers I shall give an account, when I come to speak of the first Earl of Devonshire of the family of Courtenay. He had by his wife, 1. John, who succeeded him in his estates, of whom I shall speak in the next chapter. 2. Sir William, who was one of the four knights of the shire for the County of Devon, in 42 Hen. III. The first time, as divers writers say, the commons were ever called to sit in Parliament. This Sir William Courtenay is sirnamed de Musberrie: He married Joan the daughter of Thomas Basset, and had with her the moiety of the manours of Whitford and Colliton: He died without issue, 3. Hawise, whom) John de Nevil married, and had with her in frank-marriage lands to the value of twenty pounds a year, out of the manour of Waddesdon in the County of Bucks, to be allotted by a Jury of twelve neighbouring inhabitants and the heirs of John de Nevil were afterwards in ward to John Lord Courtenay, his brother-in-law. In an account of the knights fees that were in Devonshire, in the 12th year of King John, there is mention made of one Constantius de Courtenay and Eustachius de Courtenay: I suppose they may be natural son, of the first that came into England. The arms of William de Redvers, Earl of Devonshire, whose daughter Robert de Courtenay married, were, Or, a Lyon rampant, Azure.

CHAPTER V.

John Lord Courtenay, son of Robert, was Baron of Okehampton after his father; and in 27 Hen. III, the year after his father's death, he paid one hundred marks for his relief, and doing his homage had livery of all his lands. That this John de Courtenay was Baron of Okehampton appeareth at large, by the Liber Feodorum Militum, tempore Edoardi I. says Sir Peter Ball; but it doth not appear that he was summoned to any Parliament, the records of summons in those times being all lost; yet it appeareth by records, that he enjoyed the title of Baron, not by creation, as Barons at this day, but by tenure of the Barony of Okehampton of the King, which is called a Baron-Feodal; and such were all the Barons of England before that time, and, until King Henry III. by an especial summons of some, and omission of others, distinguished that title of Barons into Barons of Parliament, which ever were and are still accounted Peers of the Realm; and those which he omitted to call, remained as they were before, Barons-Feodal, and no peers, and came not to Parliament; of which sort of Feodal-Barons there were not above two remaining in England in Mr. Camden's and Mr. Selden's time, as it hath been observed by them.

This John de Courtenay, upon the marriage of the King's eldest daughter, paid 92 l. 15 s. 00 d. to the aid then levied for the ninety two knights fees, and a third part of a fee of his inheritances and in the 30th of Henry III. he gave a fine to the King of 2500 marks for the wardship of the heirs of John de Nevil, and of the benefit of their marriages, and of their land 'till they should be of full age. In 33 Hen. III. a jury findeth, that Walter Seyrdon held in Samford three furlongs of land of three shillings revenue of the Lord John Courtenay, paying one pair of white gloves. In 37 Hen. III. John de Courtenay attended the King's son a knights he paid 205 l. 10 s. 00 d. for those ninety two knights fees, and three parts of one, (before Sir William Dugdale said a third part) belonging to the Barony of Okehampton: the same year the King granted to John de Courtenay free-Warren in all his lands that he had in Devonshire, Somersetshire, Dorset, Berkshire, and Buckinghamshire.

In 42 Hen. III. he had summons to be at Chester, on the Monday next preceding the Feast of St. John Baptist for preventing the hostile incursions of the Welch: and in the year following he had the like command to be at Bristol, upon the Octaves of St. Peter, well furnished with horse and arms, to attend the King into Wales, for the defence of those parts against the power of Lewellin ap Griffin, then in arms there; and in the same year, (viz. 43 Hen. III.) upon levying the escutage of Wales, answered for the same number of knights fees as before. In the 45th of that King, he had a grant of a market upon Wednesday in every week at his manour of Iwerne in Dorsetshire, and two fairs yearly, one on the eve-day morrow after the Invention of the Holy Cross, and the other the eve-day and morrow after the Exaltation thereof, This Iwerne, afterward commonly called Iwerne-Courtenay, and now Yerne, was a manour that did belong to the Barony of Okehampton, and Baldwin de Brioniis did possess it, as Domesday-Book doth shew; in it the Barons had a set, and here Robert de Courtenay died, as was said before.

In 46 Hen. 111. John de Courtenay was made Constable of the Castle of Totnes in Devonshire; but could never obtain the Castle of Exeter and the custody of the County of Devon, which were taken from his father by that King.

This John de Courteney, as the Monks of Ford do say, was a man just and upright, and one that feared GOD, and no less kind to the Monks of Ford than his predecessours, but rather more; and trusting to their prayers more then any thing else, he was always bountiful, and a faithful friend to theme he did not lay any burdens upon them himself, neither would he suffer any other to do it; yes, he was so good to them, that he freed them and all their lands, that did lie in his manours and his hundreds, from all manner of suits and services; and he was always their shield and defence, and kept them free from all oppressions and damages: and that he had a great kindness for them, and did trust much in the prayers that they made for him, will appear from a remarkable story that the monks have put in their register The story is this;

"It happened, that as the Lord Courtenay was returning to his own country from beyond sea, there arose so great and violent a storm, that the mariners despairing of life betook themselves to their prayers; after which the Lord Courtenay said to them, be not afraid, but pluck up your spirits, and strive to help us for one hour; for then the time will come when my Monks of Ford will arise to their vigils, and will put up their prayers to SOD for me, so that no storms nor tempests shall destroy us; therefore do not despair, nor neglect your own and our safety: the hour is coming, in which, through their prayers and merits, the merciful GOD will help us all, to which one of the company said, why, my Lord, do you talk so of your monks, or their prayers, whereas at this instant they are in a deep sleep; and how can they pray for us, when they are not sensible of any thing? To which the Lord Courtenay, being full of hope, answered and said, although some of them may sleep now, yet I know that some others of them do with most earnest prayers beseech GOD for me their servant; and they cannot be unmindful of me, now I am in such great danger, who have kept them free from many troubles they can never perish for whom so many good and great men do day and night put their prayers. To this the master of the ship said# why do you mind such trifles? our lives are just at an end; confess yourselves to one another, and commend yourselves to GOD by prayer. And when he had said this, he threw out of his hands what he had in *them*, as if he was just going to breathe out his last, and so made those that were with him in the ship to despair of their lives. Then the Lord Courtenay seemed to be angry with them, and lifting up his hands to Heaven he preyed thus; - - Omnipotent and most merciful GOD! I beseech thee to hear the prayers of the holy Monks now praying for *me*, and to hear my prayer, and for thy goodness bring us safe to the wished-for haven. He having thus prayed, because GOD delighteth in the simple and true-hearted, he helped his faithful servant for the merit of his faith, and for his firm hope when he was in the utmost extremity, and causing the storm to cease, the ship was carried safe into the harbour; upon which the company that were in the ship being greatly rejoiced, gave thanks unto Almighty GOD for that great deliverance. The Lord Courtenay, as he went to his house from the place of landing, called upon the Monks of Ford by the way, and declared to them the great mercy of GOD shewed to him; and said, that GOD wrought that deliverance for them

through their prayers and merits: And he swore, that if he was kind and bountiful to them before, he would be more so for the future; and after that he confirmed to them whatsoever they desired; and at that time, upon his earnest request, they admitted him in a solemn manner into their fraternity and he ordered his body should be buried in their church, among his spiritual brethren as he called them; and having taken his leave of them, he recommended himself to their prayers by a gift of forty marks.

This John de Courtenay, Baron of Okehampton, died the 3d of May, 1273, in the 1st year of Edward 1. and was buried at Ford, near his father, the Lord Robert Courtenay, before the high altar: he bequeathed to the Abbey, besides his body, forty pounds sterling and his armour, as also the hearse with all the furniture in which he was carried to Ford to be buried: he married Isabel daughter of Hugh de Vere, Earl of Oxford, and Lord High Chamberlain of England, by *whom* he had one son named Hugh from his grand-father; and from that time Hugh was a name very frequent in the family of Courtenay: his lady survived him a long time, and was married afterward to the Lord Oliver Dinham, or Dinant, and Musberrie was held by the said Lord Oliver Dinant, nomine dotis Isabellae de Courtenay: she out-lived her second husband, and died August III - - and was buried in the church of the Fryars-Praedecant in Exon, in the south part of the chancel, over-against her husband,

John Lord Courtenay, at the time of his death, was seized of certain lands in Waddesden in the County of Bucks, as also of the Borough of Newton-Popleford in the County of Devon; of the manour of Sutton in the County of Berks; of the manour of Hanington in the County of Somerset, a member of the Barony of Okehampton; of the manour of Crukerne in the same county, which William de Vernon, Earl of Devon, and the Lord of the Isle of Wight, gave to Robert Courtenay in frank-marriage with Mary his daughter; of Iwere-Courtenay in the County of Dorset; of the Borough of Okehampton; of the manour of Sidbury; as also the manour of Okehampton, and divers other lordships in Devonshire, and elsewhere, belonging to his barony.

An inquisition was taken after the death of this Lord John Courtenay, and it was found by the Jury, that Hugh de Courtenay is his son and heir by Isabel his wife, and was twenty three years old at the Feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin, before his deaths and that the said John de Courtenay held the castle, manour, and borough of Okehampton of the King in capite, as the head of his barony, by two knights fees besides his own, or four esquires for forty days, with ninety two fees belonging to the said barony, besides divers demesn-manours which he held as parcels of his barony, there particularly extended and valued, with the patronage of the Priory of Cowick, and the priory of St. Mary de Marisco, which are held of the Barony of Okehampton, in free-Almoigne: and John Floier held three acres of land of the Lord John de Courtenay, in capite, and is to pay him a pitcher of wine, as often as the said John, or any of his heirs, shall breakfast or eat in Ex-Island.

CHAPTER VI.

Hugh Courtenay, first of that name, Baron of Okehampton, was twenty three years old, as was said before, when his father died, In the 4th of Edward I. doing his fealty, and paying his relief, he had livery of his inheritance and although the old statute, stiled Magna Charta, says, Let every one of the Barons have his inheritance by the ancient relief, viz. a whole barony by an hundred marks; yet in respect of the greatness of this barony of Okehampton, equal in revenue to an Earldom, he paid an hundred pounds for his relief.

In 1282, 10 Edward 1. this Hugh Courtenay was in the expedition that was made into Wales. In the 13th year of King Edw.I. 1285, the King released to this Sir Hugh Courtenay one hundred pounds that was due from him to the King, and also fifty pounds that was due from his fathers The release is in these words: Know ye, that of our especial grace, and for the good services that our well-beloved Hugh Courtenay hath done for us# we have forgiven him an 100 l. in which he is bound to us toward our exchequer, and 50 l. of the debt heretofore of John Courtenay his father. Given 21st of December; which intimateth, that he had then performed some acceptable service to the King: but in that same year, upon a writ brought against this Sir Hugh Courtenay and others, for certain liberties, Judgment was given, That they go without a day until they be impleaded by a Quo Warranto. In the same year also, (1285) Walter Lichlade, first chaunter of the church of Exeter, being slain In the morning when he came from the morning service, or mattins, which was wont to be said shortly after midnight, and upon which occasion the King came into the City of Exeter, and kept his Christmas in the same; thereupon it was, that, in the year following, on the Feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin, a composition was made, between the Bishop and the City of Exeter, for enclosing the church-yard, and building certain gates there, and to which composition this Sir Hugh Courtenay was a witness. In this 14th of King Edward 1. the hundred and manour of Liston, in the County of Devon, was granted to this Sir Hugh Courtenay, excepting the advowson, for the space of five years, he paying to the King forty pounds per annum. It farther appeareth, by a protection (a thing usual in those times) granted him in the 15th of the King's Reign, that he was a martial man, and exercised in military affairs: the protection is in these words; Hugh Courtenay, who is to go into the King's service with Roger de Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, Marshal of England, unto the parts of Wales, hath the King's letters for his protection, which are to continue until the Feast of St.Michael next coming.

In the 16th year of Edward 1. 1288, this Sir Hugh Courtenay had a great quarrel with the abbey of Ford; and the ground of the quarrel was in all probability this; his father, the Lord John Courtenay, was extraordinary kind to the Monks, and gave them whatever they asked; and it is very probable that he freed them from certain services that they owed to the family as patrons of the abbey, and which their ancestors did receiver but his son Hugh was not willing to part with these services, but did demand them of the Monks; but the Monks refusing to pay them, there arose a great dissention between them, which was carried on and increased in the next Lord Courtenay's time; and it was carried on to that

degree, that there was a perpetual breach between them: the family took no care of the Abbey, and did not look upon themselves as patrons of it; and the Monks, in this Lord's grandson's time, left off registering the names and remarkable transactions of the family. The Monks do make a heavy complaint of the troubles and hardships that this Sir Hugh Courtenay did bring upon theme and they say, that he was very injurious to the Abbey which his ancestors had founded, and to which they gave, in free-almoigne for ever, many lands and possession, reserving nothing to themselves but the prayers of the Monks; and that which they gave to pious uses he claimed to himself, for the use of his horses and dogs. He said, but not truly, say the Monks of Ford, That they Abbey of Ford, which was founded by his progenitors, in pure and free-almoigne for ever, ought to be held of him by the service of providing for him, in every war that should happens one waggon with a waggon-horse; and also of keeping for him two warhorses, or else two palfreys; and also of keeping a bitch with her whelps until they came to be a year old; of all which services, he said, his father, the Lord John Courtenay, was seised in the time of King Henry, the father of King Edward then reigning and that he himself had one waggon delivered him when he went to the war in Wales, in the 10th year of the present King Edward, by the hand of William the Abbot. And the same Lord Hugh, desiring to hurt, rather than to profit, the Church of St.Mary of Ford, and the Monks serving SOD there, who did observe the customs of their predecessors, upon pretence that this service had been some time unpaid, came with a great number of people, and drove away all the cattle that were in the Grange of Westford, and caused the oxen that were in the plough, both at Westford and Orchard, to be taken out; and he ordered them all to be driven to Dartmore, near Okehampton, upon St.Lawrence's Day, in the year 1288, the 16th of Edward 1. for the replevin of which, the same year, September 9, the King ordered a writ to be sent to the Sheriff of Devon. And the Sheriff wrote back to the King, that the bailiffs of the Lady de Fortibus, Countess of Devon, for the Hundred of Exminster, (by whom the Sheriff had ordered a return of the King's writ) could not replevin the aforesaid oxen, with the other cattle of the Abbot of Ford, because the aforesaid Lord Hugh de Courtenay claimed them as his own. A great lawsuit upon this was commenced in the King's courts, and at length there was a peace made, such as it was, but it lasted but for a little while; for the aforesaid Lord Hugh Courtenay came with a great company to Orchard, on Sunday after the Feast of St.Agatha the Virgin, in the 18th year of King Edward I. 1290, to take distress by violence, as he did before; but he was prevented by those that did belong to the Abbey, without any hurt done to him, and carried away none of the cattle that were there: But as he was returning to his house at Colecomb, through the Grange of Westford, he took away a bull and twelve cows, four oxen, and four heifers, and ordered them to be kept in Whimple; and so he revived the lawsuit, which had been made up between him and the Abbot Nicholas, which would have been at great charge and damage to the Lord Courtenay, if the Abbot had not, out of respect to his patron, withdrawn his suit. But the Lord Hugh Courtenay being thus provoked, had the Abbey of Ford always in hatred, and never did the Monks any kindnesses afterwards. He added Whitford and Colliton to the inheritance of his ancestors, the moiety of which he had from his uncle William de Courtenay, who had them\$ as has said been, with his Lady, a daughter of Thomas Basset, and the other moiety he purchased himself; and he built a house at Colecomb in

in Colliton-Parish, and died there, February 28, 1291, 19 Edward I. and was buried at Cowick near Exon, a cell belonging to the Abbey of Tavistock, and said to be built by him, says William Dugdale: but Mr. Tanner more truly says, it was an alien-priory cell to the Abbey of Beck in Normandy, being founded, and thereunto given, by one of the family of Brioniis; for it belonged to the Barony of Okehampton; and unto this priory were appropriated the Church of Okehampton, with the Chapels of Halstock, Ken, and Sticklepath; and the Manour of Christow did belong to the same priory.

This Hugh Lord Courtenay married Eleanor the daughter of Hugh de Spencer the older, Earl of Winchester, who with his son was put to death when King Edward 11. was seized and put in prison, because they were the King's great favourite, and were thought to give him evil counsel. He had with his lady the Manours of Wooton and Dunstredon; and she had for her dower an assignation of the Manours of Waddesden in the County of Bucks; Iwerne, or Iwerne-Courtenay, in the County of Dorset; Hanington, in the County of Somerset; as also Colliton, Mulberrie, and Chymleigh, in the County of Devon. She lived a widow above thirty years, and governed her house at Colecomb with great prudence; for she was a lady that did excel in wisdom, and much given to hospitality. At length going from Kent to London she fell sick, and died October 1, 1328, 2 Edward III. and was buried near her husband in Cowick.

Hugh Lord Courtenay had by her, 1. Hugh, who succeeded him in his &status, of whom I shall speak in the next chapter. 2. Sir Philip, sirnamed of Moreton: He was a famous soldier, and was slain, June 24, 1314, in the battle with the Scots near Sterling, in which there was a great overthrow of the English, and a great many brave men were slain; he had by the same lady four daughters 1. Isabel the wife of John Lord St. John. 2. Avelina, the wife of John Giffard, Knight. 3. Egeline, the wife of Robert de Scales; and 4. Margaret, the wife of John de Mulis. The arms of de Spencer are, quarterly, argent and gules, in 2d and 3d, a fret or, with a bend gules.

CHAPTER VII.

Hugh Courtenay, second Baron of Okehampton, and first Earl of Devonshire of that name; was sixteen years old when his father died; and in the year 1295, 24 Edward 1. the King presented to a third portion of the church of Waddesden, by right of custody of the land and heir of Sir Hugh Courtenay, Knight: he had so much favour with the King, that in the 25th of Edward 1. notwithstanding he made no proof of his age, he then doing his homage, had livery of the Manour of Ebrighton in the County of Dorset, as also of Plympton, Exminster, Tiverton, and Topsham, in the County of Devon, which hereditarily descended to him by the death of Isabel de Fortibus, Countess of Devon and Albermarle; but he was deprived of the Lordship of the Isle of Wight, to which he was also heir: and although he had some of the lands belonging to the Earldom of Devonshire, yet he had not the title of Earl, nor the third-penny of the county, as his predecessours had 'till the time of Edward III. In the 28th of Edward 1. he obtained a charter for a weekly market every Saturday at his

Manour of Topsham, and a fair yearly on the eve, day and morrow after the Feast of St. Margaret the Virgin; and likewise a market every Thursday at his Manour of Kenford, with a fair yearly on the eve, day and morrow after the Feast of St. Mary Magdalen. He was in the expeditions made into Scotland, in 26, 28, 31, 32, and 34 of King Edward 1. and in that made into Wales, 30 Edw. I. This King Edward, to adorn the splendour of his court, and to augment the glory of his intended expedition into Scotland, did at Whitsuntide, in the 34th year of his reign, begirt Edward of Caernarvon, his eldest son, with the military belt, and this Prince immediately, at the High Altar in Westminster, conferred the same honour upon three hundred gentlemen, the sons of Earls, Barons, and Knights, amongst whom was this Sir Hugh Courtenay, and Sir Philip Courtenay his brother. In the year 1307, the last year of King Edward 1. he was summoned to the Parliament at Carlisle; and in those days, saith Camden, no Baron went to Parliament unless he had the King's Writ; and after his full age, he was summoned to all the Parliaments of that king's reign. In the year 1307, 1 Edward 11. March 18, Walter Stapleton was consecrated Bishop of Exeter; and when he made his entry into the City, at the East Gate, he alighted off his horse, and went on foot to St. Peter's Church: All the way that he should pass was laid over with black clothe on each hand he was conducted by a gentleman of good quality; and Sir Hugh Courtenay, who claimed to be Steward and Governor of the Feast, went before him: at Broad Sate he was received by his chapter and quire, in their ornaments, with: Te Deus, and so carried into the Church, the usual ceremonies being performed there: at his palace a great feast was prepared for the entertainment of noblemen and such persons of good quality as repaired thither at that time. It is incredible how many oxen, tuns of ale and wine, were said to be usually spent in this kind of solemnity in those days. After the feast was over, there happened to be a dispute between the Bishop and Sir Hugh Courtenay, about the place of Steward, and the rights and perquisites that did belong to it, which place Sir Hugh Courtenay did say belonged to him; for that he held the Manour of Slapton of the bishop upon that service: at last the difference was made up upon these conditions "1. That Sir Hugh Courtenay and his heirs, being of lawful age, and holding the said Manour of Slapton, shall be steward at every feast of installing every Bishop in the See of Exeter. 2. That they shall, at the first coming of the Bishop of Exeter, meet him at the East Gate of the City, when he descendeth from his horse; and then going a little before him, on the right hand, shall keep off the press of the people from him, and attend him into the choir of the Cathedral Church there to be installed. 3. The said Sir Hugh Courtenay, and his heirs, shall at the installment serve the first mess at the Bishop's own table. 4. In consideration of which service, the said Sir Hugh Courtenay, and his heirs, shall have for their fee four silver dishes, of those which he shall so place in at the first mess, two salt-sellers, one cup wherein the Bishop shall drink, one wine-pot, one spoon, and two Barons, wherein the Bishop shall then wash; all which vessels are to be of silver, and all which the said Sir Hugh Courtenay shall have, provided he or his heirs, being of full age, do attend the said service in person, if not hindered by sickness, or by the King's Writ procured by the said Bishop or his successors; and is so hindered, then to appoint some worshipful knight to supply the place by a deputation; and the knight so appointed shall swear, that his lord is so sick that he cannot seasonably attend the service; and then shall the Knight be admitted

to perform the same, and shall have to the use of the said Lord as aforesaid and if the said knight alledged, that his lord is, by the procurement of the Bishop, served with the King's writ, and thereby hindered from attendance, and will swear this to be true in his conscience, he shall then be admitted to do the service, unless the Bishop will positively swear the contrary in which case, the knight shall depart without doing the said service, or receiving anything for the same, for that turn only. 5. The said Sir Hugh Courtenay, and his heirs, shall do all other services to the said Bishop, and his successors, for the said Manour of Slapton, which pertaineth to the same for evermore and furthermore, whether the heirs of the said Sir Hugh Courtenay be of lawful age, or not, at the day of the Feast of Instalment, if they perform no the service, as aforesaid, that then they shall not have any of the said silver vessels, nor any other thing due for the said service for that time, by reason of their said office, nor any other person in their name and behalf. 6. It shall not be lawful for the said Sir Hugh Courtenay, his heirs or assigns, at the Feast of the Installment of any Bishop of Exeter, to put out any person, or to do any other thing by himself or others, to the said Feast, by reason of his office, neither shall he require or more, or other thing, than what is before declared. 7. And furthermore, the said Sir Hugh Courtenay, and his heirs, and the knight aforesaid, who shall do their servants horses attending them, and also their livery of wine and candles, as is meet and convenient. 8. In consideration of which processes, the said Hugh Courtenay hath for himself and his heirs, quietly remised and released to the said Bishop and his successors, all other exactions, demands, or claims, for and concerning the said office-fees, or any thing belonging to the said stewardship for ever. Given at Newton-Plympton under the seals of the said Bishop, dean and chapter, the morrow after the Feast of St. Thomas the Apostle, 1308, 2 Edward II. Witnesses, William Martyn, Philip Courtenay, Knights, cum multis aliis.

It is said, that Sir Hugh Courtenay did receive fees of greater value than the Earl of Gloucester did upon the instalment of the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, who had the Manour of Tunbridge upon the same account.

In the 2d year of Edward II, Sir Hugh Courtenay received the honour of a knight-banneret, according to the solemn custom of that age, and had his robes and other accoutrements for the ceremony of bathing as a banneret. In that year there arose a great contention between him and the mayor and commonalty of the City of Exeter; the occasion this: The Lord Hugh Courtenay on a certain market-day sent his caterer to buy fish, at which time there were only three pots of fish in the market; the Bishop's caterer likewise came, and both of them thinking the whole to be too little for either of them, they strove about the fish: the Mayor on his part minding the good of the city, and that others also might have the benefit of the market, did decide this controversy, and delivered one pot of fish the Lord Courtenay's caterer, another of them to the Bishop's, and a third he reserved for the market: The Lord Courtenay being advertised thereof, thought himself wronged by the Mayor, in not having all the fish, and shortly after coming to the city, he sent to the Mayor, to come to him, (it seems the Mayor was a retainer to him,) the mayor well-knowing the Lord Courtenay's displeasure towards him, and the reason of it, called his brethren together to the guild-hall, and acquainted them with it, and told them, that he was then going to him, and desired them to go with

him, and to assist him, if there were occasions he then went to Lord Courtenay's house, and was had into his lodging-chamber, and, the door was shut upon him; and then the Lord Courtenay began to chide the Mayor for what he had done; and when none of his answers would satisfy him, the Mayor took off an outer garment which he then wore, being the Lord's livery, and delivered it to him, whereat the Lord fell into a great passion; and the citizens being at the door, and fearing the Mayor, which being, after sundry requests, denied them, they attempted to break open the door; which the Lord Courtenay perceiving, and doubting what might ensue desired the Mayor to pacify the people, which was soon done, and so they all quietly departed. And although, to avoid the fury of the people, the Lord Courtenay seemed then to be pacified, yet could he never after, says the historian, shew a good countenance towards the city: upon this an ordinance "as made by the Mayor and common-council, that no freeman of that city should ever wear any foreigner's livery, badge, or cognizance, without the Mayor's licence; and the historian says, they inserted it in the freeman's oath, and so it remaineth to this day.

This Lord Courtenay was a great and a wise man, and so was the Bishop; and it is probable, that they were at variance at that time, which made the Lord Courtenay carry his resentments so high as he did: it is certain, that afterwards there was a great enmity between them, and the Bishop dealt very hardly with the Lord Courtenay; for he kept back from him the revenue which did belong to the Earldom of Devonshire, which of right was his all the time that the Bishop was Lord Treasurer.

In the 3d year of Edward II. this Lord Courtenay had a licence to make a feosment of the Manour of Moreton; and it is likely he gave it to his younger brother, Sir Philip Courtenay, who was called Sir Philip Courtenay of Moreton, as was said before. In 8 Edward 11, he received a command to be at Newcastle upon Tyne well fitted with horse and arms, to restrain the incursion of the Scots. In 14 Edward 11. a commission in Parliament is directed to Hugh Courteney, and others, to enquire of divers things concerning the tinnars of Devon. In 1326, it was concluded in Parliament, that solemn messengers should go to the King at Killingworth, and move him to make resignation of his crown. There were sent on this message, two bishops, two earls, two abbots, and two barons The Barons, saith Hollingshed, were Ross and Courtenay; but Stow says, Roger Gray and Hugh Courtenay: and as Sir Hugh Courtenay, after his full age, was summoned amongst the Barons in all King Edward I's time, so in King Edward 11's time he was summoned every year he was twenty several times, by several writs, summoned to treaties and parliaments ordained by the King, as appeareth on the back-side of the Close-Rolls in the Tower; (of every one of those years, saith Sir Peter Ball) and so was he fifteen times summoned to especial treaties in Parliament, in the eight first years of Edward 11. as a Barons In the 9th of that King, he was twice summoned to Parliament by the name of Hugh Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire; the last Earl in order, being but that year restored to his right of that title. In 10 Edward III. he is twice summoned to Parliament, as fourth Earl in order, between Richard Earl of Arundel and Humphry de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, being then it seems restored to his due place; and so he is summoned to every Parliament, enjoying the fourth or fifth place, until 14 Edward 11, in which year he died.

In 4 Edw.III. he founded a chauntry at Newton-Popleford, to pray for his good estate, and for the souls of Eleanor de Courtenay his mother, and Philip de Courtenay his brother: and in that year his name is amongst the Justices-itinerant, the great administrators of Justice in those times: he was the first named in the commission, as Sir William Dugdale says.

In 5 Edward III. amongst others named by Parliament to treat with the French King, is this Hugh de Courtenay named. In 6 Edw.III. Hugh de Courtenay and others are assigned keepers of the County of Devon, for preserving the King's peace in the same: these kind of commissions were then usual, in nature of commission of the Peace, which were introduced in I Edward III. which office of Custos Comitatus did of right belong unto him, as Earl of the County, and Viscount by hereditary right, as before appeareth; to which office of Count and Viscount, there did anciently belong the Custody of their County, and the preservation of the peace in it; and this Hugh De Courtenay is the first named in the first commission of the peace extant awarded unto this County. In that same year he was one of the tryers of petitions in Parliament for England: and in the 8th year of that King, 1334, this Sir Hugh Courtenay, called then Sir Hugh Courtenay Senior, representing to the King, that whereas he was seised of a certain annuity of 18 l. 6 s. 8d. for the tertium denarium of the County of Devon, with divers lands, by right of inheritance from Isabel de Fortibus, Countess of Albemarle and Devon, which she in her life-time did possess, and having accordingly received the same annuity at the hands of the Sheriffs of that County, for which they had an allowance upon their accounts in the Exchequer, which Walter Bishop of Exeter, Lord Treasurer to King Edward 11. upon the instigation of some persons, did refuse to admit of; alledging, that the annuity was granted to the ancestors of the said Isabel by the Kings's progenitors, under the name and title of Earls, and therefore the said Hugh Courteney being no Earl ought not to receive the same; and that upon the like pretence the then Sheriffs of Devon did decline to pay it any longer to him, The King therefore at the humble desire of this Hugh Courtenay, directed his precept to the Lord Treasurer and Barons of his Exchequer, requiring them to make search into the memorials and records that were in their custody, and to certify to him what they find concerning this matter; whereupon receiving advertisement, that what had been suggested to him was nothing but truth, the King did by his letters, bearing date at Newcastle upon Tine, February 22, the next ensuing year, viz. 9 Edward III. wherein he stiles him Hugh de Courtenay Senior, Earl of Devon, declare, forasmuch as the inheritance which belong to the said Countess and her ancestors, Earls of Devon, did by right of descent belong to him, and which he a present did enjoy, having regard as well to his own honour and the honour of the Kingdom, as to the honour of the said Hugh, his royal pleasure was, that from henceforth he should assume the title of Earl of Devon, and stile himself Earl of Devon, as his ancestors Earls of Devon had wont to do: and moreover by publick proclamation, both in his own County and all other places in his Bailiwick, should require all persons henceforth to call him Earl of Devon, and likewise the King sent another precept to the Lord Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer, that they should cause the said sum of 18 l. 6 s. 8 d. to be annually paid unto him, nomine comitis, as his ancestors had formerly received it: and in May following, by another writ to the Lord Treasurer and Barons, inter alia, reciting, that whereas this Hugh Courtenay having received his annuity from the time he did his homage to King Edward 1. for so many years, as that it amounted to

155 l. 16 s. 8 d. he was by them charged therewith as a debt to the King, and notwithstanding he was content to quit all arrearages of that annual rent then behind, the said sum of 155 l. 16 s. 8 d. was still required of him by the Officers of Exchequer; the King did command, that seeing he was so content, as to quit the arrearages, they should forthwith give him a discharge of that sum of 155 l. 16 s. 8 d.

Barns, in his History of King Edward III. says, that the Lord Hugh Courtenay, a tough old soldier, when he was almost eighty years of age, was created Earl of Devonshire, in the 11th of Edward III. although he was made so by Writ two years before. This Lord Courtenay being thus restored to his Earldom of Devonshire, by Edward III. it will be convenient that we give some short account of the family of Rivers, or de Ripariis, or Redvers, which enjoyed it for several descents before, from which family Hugh de Courtenay was descended, and to shew how he derived his right. King Henry I. so to William the Conqueror, gave to his faithful and beloved counsellour Richard de Ripariis, first Tiverton, and after that the Honour of Plympton, with other places belonging to the same; and made him Earl of Devon, by giving to him the third penny of the yearly income of that county: the revenue then did amount to thirty marks, of which the Earl had tent but the third part of the revenue of the county, when the Lord Courtenay was made Earl, was encreased to 18 l. 6 s. 8 d. After this he obtained the Isle of Wight of the King, whereupon he was called Earl of Devon and Lord of the Isle, He built at Lordres in Dorsetshire an alien-priory, and gave it to the Abbey of Montbourg in Normandy: he founded another alien-priory cell at Axmouth in Devonshire, and gave it to the same abbey. He had issue by Adelicia his wife, 1. Baldwin; 2. Richard; and died about the latter end of Henry 1. To him succeeded Baldwin his son: he was reckoned amongst the valiant men of his time, and took part with Maud the Emperess against King Stephen, and fortified the Castle of Exeter and the Isle of Wight; and in fortifying the Castle of Exeter, and in making engines of war, etc. it is said he spent much treasurer but King Stephen came before the city of Exeter, and besieged it; and, after a long and tedious sieges it was forced to yield by reason of famine, and Earl Baldwin fled away to the Isle of Wight; the King followed him, and drove him out thence, and then banished him, his wife and children out of the land; but he returned again afterwards, and enjoyed all his land; and honours. In the city of Exeter he had nineteen houses, and in the County of Devon no less than one hundred and fifty nine lordships. He founded the priory of Bramere in Hampshire for Black Canons, and commended it to the patronage of the Holy Trinity and St. Michael, and, amongst other estates, he gave to it the Manour of Northcott in Honiton in Devon; it was valued at the dissolution at 154 l. 14 s. 1 d. ob. a year. He founded likewise in the year 1146, a monastery of Cluniack Monks near Exeter, and dedicated it to St. James: it was a cell to the Abbey of St. Peter de Cluni, and of St. Martin de Campo near Paris, and at the dissolution of Abbeyes it was valued at 502 l. 12 s. 1 d. a year. This he built, he said, for the health of his soul, and the soul of Adeliza his wife; as also for the souls of Richard his father and Adeliza his mother, and the soul of King Henry 1. At Christchurch, or Twineham, in Hampshire, where was a College of Prebendaries before the conquest he brought in canons regular, in the time of King Stephen; it was dedicated to the Holy Trinity, and was valued, at the time of the dissolution at 312 l. 7 s. 00 d. q. He built likewise at Quar,

or Quarrer, in the Isle of Wight, in the year 1132, an abbey of Cistercian monks to the honour of the Blessed Virgin: its yearly revenues were at the dissolution 134 l. 3 s. 3. 11 d. He v
He had by Adelize his wife, 1. Richard; 2. William; 3. Henry; and departed this life at Quar, June 4, 1155, I Henry II. and was there buried with Adeliza his wife and Henry his son, who died in his youth.

Richard de Redvers, second of that name, Earl of Devonshire, succeeded his father Baldwin: he was Sheriff of Devonshire in the 2d of Henry II, and in the 7th year of the said King he confirmed in the foundation and endowment of the Priory of Twineham: he died in the city of Monbourg in France, 1162, 8 Henry II. and was buried at Twineham, or Christchurch, leaving issue by his wife Dionyia, says Dugdale, (Hawis, says Pole) daughter of Reginald Earl of Cornwall, natural son to Henry 1, two son\$ Baldwin and Richard, both successively Earls of Devon, and both died without issue. He gave lands to the Abbey of Quar, to pray for the souls of his father and mother. His wife, Hawis, saith Sir William Pole, died 16 Henry 11. and was buried at Christchurch.

Baldwin, son of Richard, was Earl of Devon: he was employed by King Henry II. in his British wars, where he behaved himself valiantly, and for a reward thereof, the King gave him the daughter and heir of Ralph de Dole in Berry, with the Honour of Chateareaux: he died without issue, leaving his brother to succeed him. His relict was afterwards married to Andrew de Chaveni. Richard his brother succeeded, and was fifth Earl of Devonshire: He married Margaret daughter and heir of John Lord Bisset. Plympton Leiger-Book says, that his wife was Emma daughter of Roger de Pentarches. He gave land to the Abbey of Bramere, to pray for the soul of his father, and Margaret his wife, and died without issue at Main in France, and was interred at Monbourg in Normandy, 1166. He bore or, a lyon rampant azure, languid and armed gules: he was the first that bore this coat. His predecessors bore gulfs, a griffin seizing a little beast, or.

William de Rivers, sirnamed de Vernon, (because he was educated in a town of that name in Normandy) came to be the sixth Earl of Devon, after the death of this brothers and his two nephews, who died issueless. In the 5th of King Richard 1. upon the second coronation of that King, (for he was crowned a second time, after he came home and was released by the Emperour of Germany, who barely took him prisoner as he was returning from the Holy Land,) William Earl of Devonshire was one of the four Earls that carried the silken canopy at that solemnity, being also then stiled Earl of the Isle of Wight. In the 6th year of King John he gave five hundred marks to be re-possessed of his Castle at Plympton and Lordship of Morreis Riddleston, and some other advantages, which Castle the King, had put into the hands of Robert Courtenay for a time; the occasion is not known.

In the 13th of that King he paid 178 marks for eighty nine knights fees he held in Devonshire, and 4 l. and I mark for three and an half he held in Berkshire, upon levying the escutage in Wales. In the 15th of King John he went into Poictou in France, but upon what occasion is not known. In the 18th year, the King observing his great age, and his disability to defend his lands against Lewis of France, whom the rebellious Barons had then called in, did grant that he might retain his lands in his own hands, upon condition that Baldwin his son should constantly remain with the King in his service. He died September

4, I Henry III. saith Dugdale; (18th of King John, saith Pole) and was buried in the Chapel, built by one of the family, adjoins to the Church of Tiverton, which Chapel was long since demolished. This was he, as Mr. Westcot thinks, that was called the good Earl of Devonshire; but Mr. Rieden says it was Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire, surnamed the Blind; but which soever it was his effigies and his Lady's were cut upon a tomb of allabaster, finely gilded, as tradition does deliver, and under them these lines;

Ho! ho! who lyes here?
I the good Earl of Devonshire
With Mabel my wife, to me full dear,
We lived together fifty five year:
What we gave we have;
What we spent we had;
What we left we lost.

This William de Redvers, Earl of Devonshire, took to wife Mabel the daughter of Robert Earl of Mollent, by whom he had issue Baldwin his son; Joan, first married to William son of William de Brewere, and afterwards to Hubert de Burgh, Lord Chamberlain to King John, and by King Henry 111. created Earl of Kent; and Mary married to Robert de Courtenay, Baron of Okehampton, and afterwards to Peter le Proust, or de Pratellis: Joan wife of William de Brewere died without issue, but Mary had by Robert de Courtenay a son named John; John begat Hugh; Hugh the first had a son named Hugh the second, and he had the Earldom restored to him by King Henry 111. as right heir to it. Baldwin, the son of William de Vernon, married Margaret the daughter and heir of Robert Fitzgerald, and had issue by her Baldwin, who succeeded his grand-father in the Earldom, his father dying before his grandfathers his father Baldwin died September 1, 1216, and his grand-father, William Earl of Devonshire, died September 14, the year before.

Before we speak of this young Baldwin, the seventh Earl of Devonshire of the family de Redyers, it will not be amiss to relate what is recorded in History concerning his mother, Margaret the relict of Baldwin his father: we find, that soon after the death of her husband, she was, against her liking, given in marriage by King John to his great favourite Fulk de Breant, in the year 12161 which said Fulk held, as her dowry, inter alia, the Castle of Plympton, and the Manour of Honiton in Devonshire. Matthew Paris affirms, that this lady was constrained by King John (who, he saith, stuck at nothing) to marry that impious, ignoble, base-conditioned man, against her will) of which marriage one at that time wrote these following verses;

Lex connectit eos, Amor, & Concordia lecti,
Sed Lex qualis? Amor qualis? Concordia qualis?
Lem Exlex, Amor exosus, Concordia discors.

Which are translated by Mr. Westcot thus;

'Join' by Law, by Love, by Concord in Bed;
'What Law? what Love? what Concord may it be said?
'Lawless Laws hateful Love,
'Concord Discord did prove,

This Fulk de Breant was a very wicked and mischievous person, as may appear by this farther account of him; he was a Norman by birth, and a bastard of mean extraction; coming into England he soon grew into favour with King John, who made him one of his council, and heaped many honours upon him: he was a stout man and a good soldier, and assisted that King against his barons; and going into divers counties of England, he burnt the houses of the adverse lords, destroyed their parks, orchards, ponds, etc. He was in favour also with King Henry III. in the 2d year of whose reign, taking many soldiers with him, he marched to St.Albans, on St.Vincent's Eve towards night, and plundered the "hole town, putting the people in bonds: moreover, at the door of the abbey there he slew one of the servants of that house, and then fled to the church of the abbey for refuge; having so done, he sent to the abbot for an hundred pound, threatening, that if he had not so much sent him, he would fire the town and the abbey too hereupon the Abbot, after many excuses, seeing there was no remedy, sent it; and so with his plunder and his prisoners he departed to his castle of Bedford; but with the sentence of excommunication at his heels, which the abbot denounced against him and his followers. Being complained of to the judges, Baybroke and Pateshul, who were then in their circuit, for these and other great oppressions, he was found guilty, and fined in a great sum of money; upon which he sent out a party of his soldiers to fetch these justices, and imprison them in his castle of Bedford; but this design being made known to them, they heated away with speed; nevertheless one of them, viz. Henry Baybroke, was taken and carried prisoner to Bedford, where he was barbarously used. Moreover, when the Abbot of St.Albans complained that this Fulk had raised a pond at Luiton, to the great damage of his convent, insomuch that it drowned their corn the summer after, he told them, that he was sorry that all the corn they had in their barns was not there also. On a time his Lady Margaret de Ripariis being in bed with him, he dreamed, that a stone of an extraordinary bigness, like a thunder-bolt, burnt out of the tower of the Church of St.Albans, and falling upon him, crushed him to pieces; whereupon starting out of his sleep, and trembling, she asked him, what the matter was? and how he did? to which he answered, I have in my time gone through many troubles, but never toes so much terrified as in this dreamt and having told her all particulars, she replied, that he had grievously offended St.Albans, by polluting that church with blood, and by plundering the Abbey, and therefore she advised him, for preventing a more grievous punishment, to reconcile himself to that holy martyr, he therefore arose and went to St.Albans, and having sent for the Abbot, fell upon his knees with tears, and lifting up his hands said, Lord have mercy upon me, for I have grievously offended GOD and his blessed martyr St.Alban; but to a sinner there is mercy; let me therefore with your leave speak to your convent in your chapter, to ask pardon of them in your presence. Whereunto the Abbot consented, admiring to see such lamb-like humility in a wolf; putting off therefore his cloaths, he entered into the chapter-house, bearing a rod in his hand, and confessing his former faults, which he said he did in time of war, he received a lash from every one of the monks upon his naked body; and having put on his cloaths, he went and sate down by the Abbot, saying, This my wife hath caused me to do for a dream; but if you require restitution for what I took from you, I will not hearken to you, and so departed; and the Abbot and his monks were glad they were so rid of him without farther mischief. Afterwards, this violent person having

highly provoked King Henry 111. by garrisoning his Castle of Bedford, and by other misdemeanours, the said King made seizure of all his possessions and being brought low, this distich was made upon him;

Perdidit in mense Fulco tam servidus ense,
Doine sub saevo quicquid quaesivit in aevo,

This furious Fulk within one month has lost,
By omen ill, what an whole age hast cost.

At this time also, Margaret de Ripariis his wife coming to the King, in the presence of the Arch-Bishop, declared to him, That she never gave her consent to marry him, and therefore desired, that in regard she had been taken by violence, and betrothed to him unwillingly, she might be divorced from him, which was accordingly done. Shortly after this, 9 Hen.111. 1225, the King convening his nobles at Westminster, required them to give sentence against this traytor; but they, by reason he had served King John and him faithfully for many years, adjudged that he should not suffer in life or limb, but hat he should adjure the realm for ever; being then gone, Margaret de Ripariss making a composition with the King, had livery of those lands of which she had been indotqed at the church-door by her former husband. Fulk on his banishment being signed upon his journey, he died by poison taken in a fish, as it is said, at St.Ciriack for lying down after supper, he was found deadf black and noisome, before the morning, Margaret de Ripariis with wife died May 24, 20 Edward 1.

Baldwin her son, seventh Earl of Devonshire of the family, was in ward to his father-in-law Fulk de Breant, and after his death to othersland lastly to Richard Earl of Cornwall, by whose procurement on Christmas-Day, he was girded with the sword of knighthood, and also invested with the Earldom of the Isle of Wight by King Henry 111. in the 25th year of his reign, and five years afterlon the morrow after St.Valentine's Day, 1245, he died in the flower of his youth, and was buried at Bremerei He had by his wife Amicial daughter of Gilbert Clare, Earl of Blocester, 1.Baldwin; 2.Isabel, married to William Earl of Albermarlel 3.Margaret, made a nun at Lacock.

Baldwin his son was the eighth Earl of Devon; he being a minor was committed to the tuition of Peter of Savoy, a great man in that age, to the end that he should marry a kinswoman of Queen Eleanor, wife to Henry 111. which kinswoman, name Avice, by the queen's direction, he took to wife, 41 Henry 111. and the same day that he was married he had livery of his landsi and in 44 of that King, at the marriage of John Duke of Britain with Beatrix the King's daughter, he received the honour of Knighthood with that duke; but about two years after he died of poison, in the year 1262, together with Richard Earl of Glocester and others, at the table of the aforementioned Peter de Savoyg uncle to the queen.

He died young, and was buried at Bremere. He had by his lady, the Clueen's kinswoman, a son named John, who died in his infancy in France; upon which the Family de Ripariis, or Rivers, ceased as to the male-line, Isabel, the daughter of Baldwin the seventh Earl of Devonshire and Amicia his wife, upon the death of this infant, became Countess of Devoni she was the second wife of William de Fortibus, Earl of Albemarle and Holderness, a great baron in the north, and third of that name and

and Title; unto him she brought the two Earldoms of Devonshire and the Isle of Wight: He died in the year 1260: He enjoyed the profits of the Earldom of Devon all his life, but was never stiled Earl of Devon: He had issue by her three sons, John, Thomas, and William, who all died in their infancy; and two daughters, Anne, who died unmarried, and Avelina, first married to Ingram de Percie, and secondly unto Edmund Earl of Lancaster, second son to King Henry III. commonly called Croutchback, not from his having a crooked back, but from his wearing the Sign of the Cross, anciently called a crutch on his back, which was usual in those days for such as vowed voyages to Jerusalem and the Holy Land: They were married June 10, 1269: The King and Queen, and almost all the nobility were at the wedding. This Avelina died issueless, and gave much of her inheritance to her last husband, being perswaded to it by her mother, Isabel de Fortibus; and she having no issue of her own to succeed her in her honours and estates, sold unto King Edward I. for 6000 marks, paid by Sir Gilbert de Knovil, William de Stanes, and Jeoffry Hecham, the king's receivers, the Manour of Christchurch, the Isle of Wight, Lambeth, near London, and the Manour of Honiton; and the King gave afterwards Honiton to Sir Gilbert Knovil; thus saith Sir William Pole. But the Monks of Ford-Abbey, and Sir William Dugdale after them, do say, that King Edward I did claim the Isle of Wight for his own, as given him by the said Countess, and did shew a deed by which it was granted: "But I with, (saith he that did write the Register of Ford-Abbey) it was not unjustly and fraudulently obtained against, or beside the will of the said Lady Isabel." King Edward I. did such desire to have that Isle, and did often by himself and others sollicite the Countess to make him her Heir, which the Lady always refused, and said, she would not deprive her lawful heir of anything. At length the King got one Mr. Stratton, a clerk, who was much acquainted with the Countess, and in her favour, to endeavour to persuade her to make a grant of the Isle of Wight to him, who being induced to do this more for fear than for love\$ promised the King that he would obtain from the Countess what he desired; which seeing he could not do as long as she lived, after her death, that he might not be worse than his word with the King, he made a deed, and signed it with the Countess's seal, (he having the seal and all other her goods in his custody) and so barely and wickedly deprived the next heir, the Lord Courtenay, of that Isle; so saith Ford-Abbey register. But as the Lord Courtenay strove hard to get the Earldom of Devonshire, so he endeavoured likewise to got the Isle of Wight too, and other lands, which the Lady Isabella de Fortibus was possessed of; for in the 8th of Edw.II. he petitioned the Parliament, and upon his petition the King issued out his writ to one Gilbert de Robur, to this effect: That Whereas our faithful and beloved Hugh Courtenay does lay claim to some lands and tenements in the Isle of Wight, as also to the Manour of Christchurch in the County of Southhampton, which were the lands of Isabel de Fortibus, Countess of Devon, and has petitioned us and our council to have all the writings relating to the said lands in our custody to be delivered to him; we therefore command you, that you search and examine the writings that are in the chamber of the treasury, and what you find relating to those estates that you deliver to him. But the Lord Courtenay by all his endeavours could not got the Isle of Wight, although he was heir to it, as well as to the Earldom of Devonshire: It was too great a thing for a subject to possess; and as his ancestor Robert de Courtenay had the Viscounty of Devon and the castle of Exeter taken from him, so this

Hugh de Courtenay was deprived of the Isle of Wight, and some other lands; although if any man could have got them he could, for he was a great and wise man, and had a great interest at court. This Isabel de Fortibus, Countess of Devon and Albemarle, was likewise a very great woman in those days; she was vastly rich, and a woman of great courage, and there are several things related of her in history; and Sir Peter Ball says, that in searching the records he has found her name often. She confirmed all the donations that were made by her ancestors to the Abbey of Quar in the Isle of Wight; in which deed of confirmation she styles herself, Isabella de Fortibus, Comitissa de Devonia & Albemarle, & Domina Insulae. To the Abbey of Montburg in Normandy she confirmed the manour of Lodres in Dorsetshire, the lordships of Axmouth, Woolveley, Appledercumbe and Weyke, which had been formerly granted to that religious house by her ancestors she gave to the Canons of Bolton in Yorkshire, in the lordships of Wiggendone and Brandone, one Messuage, one Toft, two Carrucates of Land, nine Bovates, with many other fair gifts, as is to be seen in Dugdale, She also confirmed all the grants that were made to the Abbey of Buckland in Devon, called to this day Buckland Monachorum, by the Lady Amicia her mother, Countess of Devonshire; to the founding whereof the said Amicia was greatly enabled by piety of her daughter, who gave her the inheritance of Buckland, Bicklegh, Walkhampton and Culliton in the County of Devon, with the hundreds, advowsons of churches, knights fees, and whatever else did to them belong: Which foundation was made, 8 Edward 1. 1279, by the said Amicia for the health of the souls of King Henry 111. Queen Eleanor, Gilbert de Clare Earl of Gloucester her father, Isabel her mothers Baldwin Earl of Devon her late husband, as also of Isabel Countess of Devon and Albemarle, and Margaret a nun of Lacock, her daughters then living, and of all her ancestors and successors and of all to whom she was obliged for any kindness or favour. After the Lady Amicia, Countess of Devon, and mother of Isabel de Fortibus, had finished this foundation she died, 12 Edward 1. 1282. This Monastery of Buckland was dedicated to St.Mary and St.Benedict, and filled with White Monks of the Cistertian Order, which at the surrender was valued at 241 L. and upwards a year. It is said by Isaac; in his Memoirs of Exon, that this Lady Isabella de Fortibus did build the Chapel in the Castle of Exons and annexed to it four prebends: But this is not true; for neither this Lady, nor any of her ancestors, Earls of Devon, had ever any right to the Castle of Exon, but it did always belong to the Viscounts of Devon, until Henry III. took it into his own hands, as has been shewn; and the Chapel was built by one of the Viscount of the Family de Brioniis, and the prebends were annexed to it by the same, and that family and their successors were the patrons of it; and after the Castle was taken into the king's hands, they disposed of the prebends still: the prebends were four; 1. Loheghen, near Exon, with Clift-hays; 2. Cutton, with the Tything of Hemington in the County of Somerset; 3. Carswill in the Manour of Kenn; 4. Ash-clift, which was given and appropriated to the Abbey of Torr by Robert de Courtenay, Viscount of Devon, as was said before. It is said by Mr. Cambden and others, that this lady did build Powderham-Castle; but this cannot be true neither; for Powderham did never belong to her, nor to any of her ancestors, it being a Manour that did belong to the Honour of Hereford: Humphry de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, gave it with Margaret his daughter in marriage to Hugh, the second Earl of Devonshire of that name, who gave it to his son Sir Philip Courtenay.

This Lady Isabel de Fortibus, Countess of Devon, having the Manours of Topsham and Exminster, opposite to one another, one lying on the east, the other on the west side of the River Ex, erected a wear for benefit of her mills upon the said river, which from her is called Countess-Wear to this day. Isaac in his Memoirs saith, that in the year 1290 18 Edward 1. an inquisition was taken at Exeter, the day of the decollation of St. John Baptist, before Malcolm Harley, General Escheator of the king on this side Trent, before whom the Jury of the Hundred of Wonneford, inter alias upon their oaths do say, 'That Isabel de Fortibus, Countess of Devon, hath made a great purpresture or nuisance in the River Ex, by erecting a certain wear in the same, to the annoyance, hurt and damage of the said city, and the whole course thereof, appertains to the King, in the right of the City of Exeter; that is to say, from Chickstone unto the bridge of the said city, called Ex-Bridge." Another inquisition was likewise taken before the said escheator; and the commonality of the city of Exeter upon their oaths do say, "That the said city is of the Crown, and appertaineth to the Crown, and so anciently hath ever been; and that the same is immediately held of the King; And further they say, that King Henry III., father of the King that now is, gave the said city to his brother, Richard Earl of Cornwall, and his heirs; and that the citizens of the said city do hold the city in fee-farm of the said Earl, as before they held it of the King, yeilding therefore unto the said Earl yearly 13 l. 10 s.00d. And further they say; as touching purprestures, that whereas the water and river of Ex for ever of old time did appertain unto the said city, so far as and unto the port of Exmouth; and the fishing in the said river did appertain to the said city, so far as and unto the port of Exmouth; and the fishing in the said river is and ought to be common unto all men who list to fish therein: nevertheless Isabella de Fortibus, Countess of Devon, about six years last past, made and raised a wear over-thwart the River Ex, which is of such a height, that the fishing, and taking of Salmons, and other fish is destroyed on this side of the wear, to the great damage and annoyance of the said city and country.'

There is a traditions that this Lady determined a controversy that was between the parishes of Honiton, Farway, Sidbury, and Gittishem, about their bounds, for she being a very great Lady, and Lady of the Manour of Honiton, if not of one of the other, did ride up to the plain where about the Parishes did meet, and in a little miry place threw in a ring, which she took off her fingers and said that that place should be the bounds of the four parishes and so it is to this day, and called Ring in the Mire, This Lady Isabella de Fortibus, Countess of Devon and Albemarle, died in the year 1292, 20 Edw. 1. and was buried at Bramere in Hampshire: and Hugh Courtenay, second of that name, Baron of Okehamton, was her next heir, as we have shewn already, and so was entitled to the Earldom of Devonshire, and to the Lordship of the Isle of Wight, and all the lands belonging to theme he was son to Hugh the first, who was the son of John, who was the son of Robert and Mary, daughter and heir of William de Ripariis, sirnamed de Vernon, Earl of Devonshire; and, as it was said before, he succeeded into the greatest part of the lands that did belong to the Earldom a little time after the Countess died, and did for some time receive the third penny of the County, which did belong to the Earls of Devonshire, but was deprived of that in the time of Edward II. whilst Bishop Stapleton was Lord Treasurer; but in the

time of King Edward III. he was restored to that, and to the title of Earl too, though he and his posterity were for ever deprived of the Isle of Wight.

This Hugh Courtenay, as soon as he had the earldom restored to him, gave to every monastery in Devonshire twenty marks; to the priory of Plympton twenty marks, to every other priory ten marks, and to every house of the Mendicant Fryars ten marks. And notwithstanding all these acts of piety, which the Monks of Ford do relate, they complained heavily against him; and they say he carried on the difference with their Abbey which his father began, and bore a greater hatred to them than ever his father did: they say also, that his father hurted them only in one thing, viz. in claiming unjustly a service from theme whereas their abbey was built by his ancestors in free and pure Almoign, but this his son not only claimed the same service from the abbey, but whereas there were certain immunities and priviledges belonging to the Manour of Tale by indentures made, he made void these indentures, and unjustly obliged both the Abbott and his tenants to attend his court in the Hundred of Harridge, and to do quit and service there: and lastly, the said Sir Hugh Courtenay encouraged and assisted the rector of Crewkern to go to law with the abbey for Tythes of the lands of Othall and Goggebar, and other lands in his parish, which did belong to the abbey of Ford, and which did belong to it before the Lateran Council, and were always free and exempt from paying of Tythes: and he and his son and heir Hugh, with the said rector, prevailed with the Bishop of Bath and Wells (whom the Abbot and his Monks were forced by the said Sir Hugh Courtenay to chuse arbitrator) to make a decree, by which it was ordered, that the said House of Ford should pay a composition of fifty shilling a year, to the manifest prejudice and great hurt of the abbey: so say the Monks of Ford. But one would think, that he that had been so pious and charitable, as to give upon his promotion to the Earldom of Devonshire to all the Abbeys and Priorys in the County, should be not so hard to the Abbey of Ford as the Monks do represent it, unless there had been some grounds for it.

About three years after that this Earl had that quarrel with mayor and commonalty of Exeter, that we mentioned before, the City did make a great complaint against him, as they did against Isabel de Fortibus, his predecessor and in the year 1311, there were bills of complaint exhibited against him to the King, in which the City complained, that he added more wears to those which Isabel Countess of Devon had made, and destroyed the haven that belonged to the City of Exeter. And in the year 1316, the city exhibited another bill of complaint to the King against the said Lord Courtenay, setting forth, that the said Lord, to encroach to himself the gain of lading and unlading of goods within the port and river, did build a key and a crane in his own town of Topsham, and by power compel and force all merchants to lade and unlade all their wares and merchanizes brought within that port there only: upon this complaint the king sent his writ to the Sheriff of Devon, dated the 20th of March that year, for an inquisition to be taken; and albeit the same was accordingly executed, yet it was never returned up; for which cause the King sendeth his second writ unto the said sheriff, dated June 12 following\$ strictly charging him to make execution thereof, and to make return of the writ, which was done accordingly and albeit the inquisition was found against the Lord Courtenay, yet could no relief be thereupon had, saith Isaac in his Memoirs of Exon. In the year 1322, two writs of Nisi prius were brought down and tried at the Castle of Exeter, before John Stoner

and Richard Stapleton, knights, the King's Justices of Assize for the Western Circuit; In one of them Hugh Courtenay, Baron of Okehampton, after Earl of Devon, was plaintiff, and the Mayor and Commonalty of the City of Exeter defendants, touching the Manour of Ex-Island and suburbs, which being an ancient demesne of the said Hugh Courtenay, and parcel of his Barony of Okehampton, he claimed to have it exempted from the power and jurisdiction of the Mayor of the said city. The other writ was between the said Hugh Courtenay and the Prior of St.Nicholas within the City of Exeter, plaintiffs, and the Mayor and Commonalty of the said city, defendants, touching the customs, liberties and priviledges of a fair, commonly called Llammas-Fair, in both which Trials Verdicts were given for the said Mayor and Commonalty, saith Isaac in his Memoirs. As touching Lammas-fair, whatever the controversy was, this Earl of Devonshire, and the Prior of St.Nicholas, and their successors had the profits of it afterwards and there is a tradition, that there was in old time a fair kept in Ex-Island, the profits of which did belong to the Barons of Okehampton; but once there happened to be a very great flood on the fair-day, which did a great deal of damage, upon which the fair was removed to Grul-Ditch, or Southern-Haye; and upon that account the Barons of Okehampton had the Moiety of the profits of that fair. There is another traditional story related both by Mr.Risden and Mr.Westcot, and it must be concerning this Earl, or his son, for they say it was done in the time of Edward 111. but it may be best applied to this Earl: The story is this; The Earl, as patron, gave the parsonage of Tiverton to a Chaplain of his; and after he had for some time lived upon it, and being, as is supposed, a man of a generous temper, and given to hospitality, did often complain to the Earl's officers and servants, that he could not live upon his parsonage which coming to the Earl's ears, he took an opportunity to talk with him about it, and told him he had considered of his complaint, and would procure for him a living more convenient for him, and more agreeable to his mind, if he would resign that he had: the incumbent pleased with these words, and filled with the hopes of greater preferment, was ready at that very instant to resign; and the noble Earl (a work worthy of his wisdom, saith Mr.Westcot) divided the parsonage into four parts or quarters, viz. Prior, Tidcomb, Clare and Pit, with intention to bestow it upon four different men, but out of respect to his old chaplain, the last incumbent, he offered him the choice, which he, seeing no other preferment ready, and perceiving his Lordship's designs readily accepted; so saith Mr.Westcot: But Mr.Risden saith, it was after the incumbent's death that the rectory was divided into four parts.

In 10 Edward III. this Hugh Earl of Devonshire had a commission given him to guard the Seas in Devonshire and Cornwall, with a power to command all others to assist him: In the same year he was a witness to a patent for making Hugh de Audley Earl of Gloucester: he was likewise a witness to a charter granted to the Black Prince, upon the erection of the Dutchy of Cornwall, which charter is dated January 3,11 Edward III. and this is the last thing we find recorded of him.

How in his Chronicle says, that he was knight of 80 years of age; and Barnes in his History of Edward III. says he was 90 years old when he died: but he could not be so old, if he was but a little above 16 years old when his father died; and the inquisition taken after his father's death saith he was no more. His father died 20 Edward I. 1292, and he died 14 Edward 111. 1340 and was buried at Cowick,

At his death he was seised of the castle, manour and honour of Plympton, with its members; the castle and manour of Tiverton; the manour of Exminster and Topsham; with the hundreds of Plympton, Tiverton, Harridge and Wonneford; the castle and honour of Okehampton; with the manours of Samford-Courtenay, Caverly, Duelton, Kenn, Whimble, Ailesbear; the hamlet of Newton-Popleford; three mills upon Ex near Exeter; the manour of Chymleigh; the advowsons of the church of Trowly and Kenn; and the prebends of Hays and Cutton, in the Chapel of our Lady with the castle of Exon, all in the County of Devon; as also of the manour of Bramere and Limington in the County of Southampton; of the manours of Ebrighton and Iwerne-Courtenay in the County of Dorset; with many more that Sir William Dugdale doth reckon up.

After his death, that year, there was an inquisition taken, and the jurors did say, that Hugh de Courtenay, late Earl of Devon, held the day that he died half the manour of Crewkern, by the grant of Eleanor the wife of Hugh de Courtenay, father of the said Earl, for his life; from thence to come to Hugh, son of the said Hugh de Courtenay, Earl of Devon, and the lawful heirs of his body, etc, And that Hugh de Courtenay, son of the said Hugh de Courtenay, late Earl of Devon, is his next heir, and is thirty years of age: and the like offices of inquisition were had in almost all the counties of England of all the lands he died seised, which were so many, that he may be justly reputed amongst the greatest men of those times; and account of all which lands would be too tedious to give saith Sir Peter Ball.

This Hugh de Courtenay, first Earl of Devonshire of that name, married Agnes the sister of John Lord St. John of Basing, who married the Earl's sister; she was, say the monks of Ford, beloved both by GOD and man, for her humble, meek and courteous behaviour, and they say he was but seventeen years old when he married her, and they lived together about fifty three years, and she out-lived him about five years, saith the register of Ford-Abbey, and died on Sunday the Feast of the Holy Trinity and St. Barnabas the Apostle, in the year 1340, 14 Edward III. and was buried on Tuesday, June 27, in a solemn manner, at Cowick near Exeter, by her husband, This account of the time of her death must be a mistake, if she survived her husband five years, for he died in the year 1340, as the inquisition taken after his death doth say; the same year that the register saith this lady died in.

This Hugh Courtenay, first Earl of Devonshire of that family, had by his Countess Agnes, 1. Hugh, who succeeded him in the Earldom, of whom we shall give an account in the next chapter; 2. John, who was Abbot of Tavistock, the greatest abbey in Devonshire; It was created a Mitred Abbey about twenty years before its dissolution it was founded by Ordolph son of Oldgare Earl of Devonshire, in the year 961, and dedicated to St. Mary and St. Burien: Its value at the dissolution were 902 l. 05 s. 7 d. ob. 3. Robert; 4. Thomas; and two daughters, 1. Eleanor, who was married to John de Gray of Codnor, but did not live long 2. Elizabeth, married to the Lord Bartholomew L'Isle. As for John, his named first, and said to be the eldest son by those that do give an account of the family; and if he was so, then it is probable that he was not so fit for an active life as his second brother was, therefore he was made an abbot: But because the inquisition that was taken after the father's death doth says that Hugh was his heir, therefore I have put him first: and as for Robert, he had the manour of Moreton given to him by his father, and he married

one Joanna...., who had the manours of Southleigh and Fairway, and he had a son by her named William, Robert the father died 8 Edward III. and Hugh Earl of Devonshire, his brother, paid to the King fifty shillings as a relief for Moreton: William the son of Robert died a minor, 12 Richard 11. and the Hugh Earl of Devonshire being dead, the Countess his widow had Moreton for her life: and as for Thomas, the fourth son of Hugh first Earl of Devon, commonly called Sir Thomas Courtenay of Southpole, he was put in commission with his brother Hugh Earl of Devonshire, to lead the Devonshire and Cornish men against the French who landed in the West; and they bravely beat off the French, and made them to return into their own country, This Thomas did likewise serve King Edward III. in his wars in Britain: He died 30 Edw. III. He married Muriel the daughter and heir of John de Mulis, and had issue by her a son named Hugh, and two daughters 1. Margaret, wedded to Thomas Peverell; 2. Muriel, married to John Dinham: Hugh the son died issueless, within age, 42 Edward III. seised of the manours of Mapertan, South-Cadbery, Wotton, Cricket, and Northome, in the county of Somerset; the manour of Kings-Carswell, the hundred of Hay-Torr, the manour of Pole and Thurleston, Plymtree and Sutton-Lucy, in the parish of Widworthy, all in the county of Devon; the manour of Over-Wallopp in the County of Southampton; and the manour of Overton in the county of Oxon; whereupon partition was made of all these estates between Margaret his elder sister, and John Dinham, son and heir of Muriel the younger sister.

In Tiverton church, in Mr. Westcot's time, were the arms of Hugh de Courtenay, first Earl of Devonshire of that name, impaled with that of his lady, viz. Or, three torteaux, with a label of three points azure, impaling argent on a chief gules, two mullets or..

CHAPTER VIII.

Hugh Courtenay, third Baron of Okehampton and second Earl of Devonshire of that name, was born 12 July, 1303, 32 Edward I. and was thirty three years old and upwards when his father died; so says the register of Ford-Abbey; but the inquisition taken after his father's death says thirty; he married August 11, 1325, 19 Edward II. with Margaret daughter of Humphrey Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, and Lord High Constable of England: her mother was Elizabeth daughter of that puissant King Edward 1. His father settled upon him marriage his seat of Colcomb, with the manour thereof; the manours of Waddesden, Coker, and other manours. After his father's death, doing his homage, he had livery of his lands. In the 7th of Edward III, his father being then alive, he was in that expedition made into Scotland, when the King met the Scots army, and slew of them eight earls, one thousand three hundred horesemen, and of the common soldiers thirty five thousand, near Halidown-Hill. In the year 1339, 13 Edward III. when the King asserted his right to the crown of France by force of arms, the French made an entry into Devonshire and Cornwall; but this Hugh Courtenay, after Earl of Devon, his father being then alive, with the posse comitatus drove them back to their ships again. In the 8th of Edward III. he obtained

a charter for a market every Saturday at his manour of Moreton in the county of Devon, and two fairs, one on the eve, day morrow after the Feast of St.Andrew the Apostle, and the other on the eve, day morrow after the Feast of St.Margaret, In 14 Edward III. the same year that his father died, he confirmed to the burgesses of Culliford divers liberties and priviledges. In 15 Edward III. a writ was directed to him, commanding him to be at Newcastle, 24 January, with sixty men at arms. In 16 Edward III. he was in that expedition made into Brittany, with one banneret, twelve knights, thirty six esquires, and sixty archers on horseback of his retinue; in which expedition the King took divers castles and strong holds that resisted him, and then he besieged Vannes and although Philip de Valois came down against him with a great army, there was a truce made, and Vannes was delivered to the King; and no doubt he accompanied the King in other expeditions into France: He was a man ready for the service of his Prince both in peace and war, had not some infirmity, whatever it was, befallen him; for in 21 Edward III. he was so infirm, that he was not able to go with the King in the expedition that was then made beyond sea; and about that time, William de Bohun, Earl of Northampton, his brother-in-law, and Hugh de Courtenay, his eldest son, moving the King, that he might be excused from coming to Parliament, or any other councils, had their request granted. After which, in 24 Edward III. he obtained leave of the King to travel for one whole year; and in that same year the house of the White Fryars in Fleet-Street was new built by him. In 35 Edward III. this Hugh Earl of Devonshire, together with Richard de Branscomb, high sheriff; Henry de la Pomeroy, etc. with the consent of the county, and by the King's mandate, gave orders to Roger Piperel and Thomas de Asseton, collectors of the assessments, to pay to Henry Percehay and Nicholas Whiting, knights, sixteen pounds for their charges in serving the county as knights of the shire in the last parliament hold at Westminster; and they did likewise witness the receipt of the money; and the said order is dated at Exon, Anno R.R. Edvardi III. 35. In 44 Edward III. this Hugh Earl of Devonshire gave the profits of the town of Tiverton for the benefit of the poor of that parish. King Edward III granted to this Earl a licence to entail all his possessions in Devon, and many manours that were in other counties, which he did accordingly and thereupon levied a fine, which entail of his lands was to Sir Philip Courtenay his son, the present Sir William Courtenay's ancestor, whereby Sir William enjoys divers great manours to this day: wherein is to be observed the Earl's prudent provision for the future preservation of his family, and his great wisdom is settling of it in such manners that all the several changes of succeeding times, which were many and dangerous could not overturn or shake that foundation which he laid, whereby the honour of his family is in part sustained unto this day; a thing very rare in families of that greatness that this then was, and still is in, In 46 Edward III. he made an entail of four manours to himself and his wife Margaret; and in 47 Edward III. he made another of Moreton and four manours more, with remainder to Sir Philip his son, Sir William Courtenay's ancestor.

This Earl was summoned to every parliament in all the long reign of Edward III. He lived to a good old age, and had a numerous issue; several of his sons were men of great renown; and famous in their time, as we shall see hereafter. He died at Tiverton upon Saturday next preceeding the Invention of the Holy Cross, the last year of Edward III. and was

buried in the Cathedral Church of Exeter: he had by his Countess six sons and five daughters, saith Sir William Dugdale; but Sir Peter Ball, Sir William Pole, and Mr. Westcot do say, he had eight sons and nine daughters. The 1st son was Hugh, of whom I shall give an account in the next chapter; 2. Thomas, who was knight of the shire for the County of Devon, 51 Edward III. He died before his father, and was buried in the Augustine-Fryars Church, London; 3. Edward, surnamed of Godlington; he married Emeline daughter and heir of Sir John Dawney, and had by her sixteen manours: He died before his father the Earl, and had by his Lady two sons, 1. Edward, who came to be Earl after his grand-father; 2. Sir Hugh Courtenay of Haccomb, whose grand-son Edward was restored to the Earldom of Devonshire, upon the failure of his elder brothers issue 4. William, of whom I shall speak at large hereafter 5. John; he was knight for the shire for Devonshire, 2 Richard 11. and signalized himself at a famous tournament in France; 6. Philip; of him likewise I shall speak more hereafter 8. Humphry. The daughters were, 1. Margaret, the wife of John Lord Cobham; 2. Elizabeth, first married to Sir John Vere, knight, second son to Aubrey de Vere, tenth Earl of Oxford, afterwards to Luterell 3. Catherine, first married to the Lord Harrington, afterwards to Sir Thomas Engain; 4. Joan married to Sir John Chiverston; she was buried in the Augustine-Fryars Church, London; 5. Anne, who died unmarried 6. Eleanor; 7. Guinora; 8. Isabella; 9. Philippa: One of the four last was married to ... Drayton, and another, in all probability, to Champernoun; for in Tiverton Church were the arms of Champernoun impaled with those of Courtenay, and the Countess of Devonshire their mother made one other Champernoun one of her executors.

The Earl's Lady continued a widow 'till her death, which was about fifteen years after her husband's death; and by her testament, bearing date, 28 January, 14 Richard 11. bequeathed her body to be buried in the Cathedral-Church of Exeter, near to her lord and husband; ordering, that there should be no other hearse for her than plain bars to keep off the press of the people, and only two tapers of five pounds a-piece, one at the head and the other at the feet, without any torches, or any other lights: she likewise ordered, that upon the day of her funeral and that for the soul of her husband and her own soul two hundred pounds should be distributed amongst the daughters of knights and gentlemen towards their marriage portions, and to poor scholars at school: To Margaret, the daughter of her son Philip, she bequeathed one hundred marks in augmentation of her portion; to William Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, her son, a gilt chalice and missale; to her daughter Cobham forty pounds, to her daughter Luterel ten pounds, to her daughter Engain forty pounds, with two primers, and a book called Arthur of Britain; to her grand-son the Earl of Devon she gave all her swans at Topsham; to her son Philip, all the furniture of her chapel, books, vestiments, candlestick, etc. to her daughter Anne Courtenay, a ring with a diamond; to her son Peter, her bed of red and green per pale. This last will of Margaret Countess of Devonshire, I found, saith Sir Peter Ball# registered in the prerogative-office of the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, in the most antient book of that offices entitled, *Registrum de tempore Willielmi de Courtenay, Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis, Angliae Primatis, etc. Apostolicae sedis Legati de Anno 1384, etc. Annis sequentibus*: and in

folio 15, Ultima Voluntas Margaratae de Courtenay, Comitissae Devoniensis. It is dated 28 January, 1390, as was said before, and composed according to the custom of that time in French. She died upon Wednesday, 16 December, 15 Richard II. 1391, being near eighty years old, and was buried near her husband in the Cathedral-Church of St. Peter in Exon; and in the body of the church, near the South Ile, stands erected a fair altar monument, with the effigies of both of them lying upon it, which monument is without inscription or arms; but in the window right against it, there are the arms of Courtenay by themselves, and likewise impaled with the arms of Bohun, viz. azure, a bend arg. inter two cotises and six Lyons rampant or; and in the church of Tiverton are, or were, the arms of this Earl impaled with those of his Countess, as also in Crediton Church: over this monument was a sumptuous, curious, little chapel built, which has been for some time taken down.

This Margaret Countess of Devonshire was at the time of her death seised of the third part of the manour of Waddesden in the County of Bucks; of the manours of Ebrighton, Hille, juxta Iwerne-Minster, in the County of Dorset; the moiety of the manour of Crewkern; the manour of East-Coker in the county of Somerset; of the manours of Samford, Tiverton, Colecumb; half the manour of Coliton; the borough of Colyford; the manour and borough of Exminster; the manour of Kenn; the manours of Newham, Topsham, and Whitford; the moiety of the hundred of Coliton; the manour and borough of Chymleigh; the manour of Caverly; the manours of Whitwill, Huntsbear, Norton, juxta Stoke-Fleming, Farway, Honiton, Milton, Damarel, Assington, Boltberrie, Northpole, Cadleigh and Bouthleigh.

Mr. Westcot, in his view of Devonshire, when he come to Chymleigh, relates a story of a Countess of Devonshire, which, he says, is commonly told, and firmly believed; the story is this: 'A poor labouring man inhabiting the town of Chymleigh had many children, and not willing to have any more, absented himself from his wife, and from his home for seven years; at the end whereof he returned, and accompanied with his wife as formerly; she conceived, and in due course of time was delivered of seven sons, which being so secretly kept, that no one knew it but he and his wife; he resolveth to drown them, and to that purpose put them all in a large basket, and goes towards the river: The Countess of Devon being there at that times as she went abroad to take the air, met him with his baskets and asked him what he carried in it? The man answered, they are whelps: Let me see them, said the Lady; They are puppies, replied he again, not worth the rearing. I will see them, said the Lady; and the more unwilling he was to shew them, the more earnest was the Lady to see them; which he perceiving, fell on his knees, and discovered his purpose, and what put him upon doing it; which as soon as the Countess knew, she ordered all of them to be carried home, and provided nurses and all things necessary for theme They all lived and were bred up to learning, and being come to man's estate, she gave each of them a prebend in the Parish of Chymleigh. " Which I think are now vanished, saith Mr. Westcots unless they are appropriated to the free-school there erected by the Earl of Bedford; but the seven crosses near Tiverton set up upon this occasion keeps it still in memory. And there is a place not far from Tiverton, in the way to Chymleigh, now called the Seven Crosses. This fruitful birth, with the whole History, will perchance be thought stranger but yet if we read the History of the beginning of the noble race of Welss, much

much like to this, but far stronger, registered by Camerarius, Chancellor to the Free State of Noremburg, you will make no wonder of it, saith my author; and perhaps it may be the some story, with some difference, related and applied to some of our country: but if the thing was really done at Chymleigh, the story of it may be applied to this Countess of Devon sooner than to any other.

Isaac, in his Memoirs of the City of Exon, relates this same story, and applies it to Isabella de Fortibus, Countess of Devon: but it cannot be applied to her; for neither she, nor any of her ancestors, were ever owners of Chymleigh; for that manour did belong to the Barony of Okehampton, and they wore never Barons of Okehampton, but only Earls of Devonshire: but this Lady's husband was both Baron of Okehampton and Earl of Devonshire, and this Countess had for her Jointure both Tiverton and Chymleigh, and she was very great and rich, a King's granddaughter and therefore if the thing be true, it must be this Lady of whom it is spoken. This Margaret de Bohun, wife to Hugh, second of that name, Earl of Devonshire, had a sister named Elizabeth, who was married to James Earl of Ormond, and this match did very much ennoble the family of Butler; for he was made Earl upon the account of this match by Edward III. Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, the father of this Countess, was slain a little before she was married to the Earl of Devonshire; the occasion and manner of it was this: Thomas Earl of Lancaster, the King's brother, Humphry Earl of Hereford and Essex, who had married the King's sister, and other nobles, wore in arms against the King, because he would not put from him the two Spencers, father and son. The King with his army engaged them at Burton upon Trent, subdued their forces, and put them to flight; whereupon they retired farther north, and at Burroughbrig were met by Sir Simon Ward, Sheriff of York, and Sir Andrew Harkley, Constable of Carlisle; Humphry de Bohun was slain by a Welchman, who thrust him into the body with a spear from under the bridge, as he strove to get over the same; and the Earl of Lancaster was taken prisoner, and the third day after was beheaded at Pomfret. It is not likely that the Earl of Hereford Has buried at Exeter, because he died in the north, and two or three years before the Earl of Devonshire married his daughter but there is a monument for his in the South Ile of the Cathedral-church of Exeter, where he lieth in effigie, all in armour, cross-legged, curiously cut in stone; which no doubt was made for him by the Earl of Devonshire, or his Countess: for, as Mr.Weaver observes, in those days monuments were erected for great and famous men, not only where they were buried, but in other places also.

Over the monument in a marble table is this inscription.

Epitaphium Domini Bohunni illustrissimi
quondam Comitis Herefordiae.
O Bohunne, Comes; claro de Sanquine nate,
Eu rapiunt Vitae stamina sate tuae.
DeJicit illustri viros Mors stemmate natos,
Insuper obscuros dijjicit illa Viros.
Aspice humanam Bohunni in imagine sortem,
Cunctos Mors panda salce cruenta secat.

This epitaph is of much later date than the monument for it was made by Mr.John Hooker, (the first chamberlain of Exeter, who lived in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and was uncle to the famous Mr.Richard Hooker) as were several others over the monuments in that Church,

CHAPTER IX.

Hugh Courtenay, eldest son of Hugh Courtenay, second Earl of Devonshire of that name, commonly called Hugh Courtenay le Fitz, was born the 22d of March, 1327, 1 Edward III. He was in that expedition made into France, 20 Edward III. in which was fought the famous Battle of Crecy, when the English got the greatest victory that ever the French lost, there being slain upon the Plain, and in the pursuit, thirty thousand of the French. This victory happened upon Saturday after St.Bartholomew's Day, 20 Edw. III. after which victory the King went and besieged Calais, and the French King came with an army to raise the seige, which when he found he could not effect, he set fire to his tents, and marched off; upon which Calais was delivered up to the King. And in the following years this Sir Hugh Courtenay, being amongst other brave martialists at a tournament at Eltham, had given him by the King an hood of white cloth, embroidered with men in the posture of dancers, buttoned with large pearls. And in 1343, 23 Edward III. April 23, (to which time Mr.Ashmole fixes the Order of the Barter) he was by King Edward appointed to be one of the founders of that noble order. The names of all the founders Mr.Cambden hath set down in his Britannia, and says, Here I think It will not be amiss to set down the names of those who were first admitted into this order; for their glory c an never be obliterated, who in those days of valour and military bravery had very few equals, and were upon that account advanced to this honour. Sir William Dugdale, and some other historians do say, that it was not this Hugh Courtenay, but the Earl of Devonshire his father, that was one of the founders of the Order of the Barter: but Mr.Ashmole says it was this man; for his father the Earl was infirm at that time, and could not come to court; and besides; if it had been the Earl, it would have been put down Hugh Earl of Devonshire, as other Earls are put down with their titles, and not Hugh Courtenay only. In 26 Edward III, 1354, this Sir Hugh Courtenay, with Sir Thomas his brother, were commissioned by the King to arm and array all persons, knights, esquires, and others, within the Counties of Devon and Cornwall, and to conduct them to the see-coast, to oppose an invasion then feared from the French; and in 20 Edward III, he was sent in Britany, with other lords, upon the King's special service; and in all probability he was in the famous Battle of Poictiers, for it was fought that year, when Edward the Black Prince obtained a signal victory over the French; in which battle the French King was taken prisoner with his youngest son. The French, saith the historians had fifty thousand horse and as many foot, the English were not above eight or nine thousand in all; the English are said to have taken more prisoners than their whole army contained: the battle was fought on Monday, September 19, 30 Edward III.1356. In 41 Edward III. the Prince of Wales taking compassion upon Don Pedro King of Spain, who was driven out of his Kingdom by his bastard-brother Henry, entered Spain with a great army: there went with him this Sir Hugh Courtenay, and Sir Philip and Sir Peter Courtenay his brothers; and in a battle near Navaret, the Prince got a great and signal victory, put the enemy to flight, and killed near one hundred thousand, with little loss on the Prince's side. The day before the fight, Sir Hugh, Sir Philip, and Sir

Denis Courtenay, saith Froissard: but is must be Sir Peter; for there was no such man as Sir Denis; and amongst those that behaved themselves valiantly in that battle, Froissard does reckon up Sir Hugh and Sir Philip Courtenay. The Prince staid with his army in that country for some time, expecting the money that Don Pedro had promised him to pay his army; but Don Pedro delaying the payment of it, the Prince and his men being weary of staying in that hot and sickly country, (for many of them were sick, and the Prince himself was indisposed, and was never well afterward) they marched away: and when the Prince was moving off, he sent Sir Hugh Courtenay and Sir John Chandois to James King of Majorca, to know whether he would go off with him; and he sent answer, that he was not able to go by reason of sickness. This King of Majorca came to the Prince for help against the King of Arragon, who had killed his father, and outed his of his kingdom, and was with the Prince in the battle which was fought on Saturday, April 3, 1366.

In the 44th of Edward III. this Sir Hugh Courtenay was summoned to Parliament, although his father was then living; and in the 48th of that King he died, as appeareth by an inquisition taken after his death, before his father, in the forty eighth year of his age. He had been sharer with the King and Black Prince in most of the victories obtained over the French; and no doubt he, together with his brothers Sir Thomas and Sir Edward, was in that warlike age in many battles and engagements, although their names are not mentioned in history, when there is an account given of those battles, as were the younger brethren, Sir John, Sir Philip, and Sir Peter, in the time succeeding his death.

This Sir Hugh Courtenay, eldest son to the Earl of Devonshire, married Elizabeth daughter to Buy Brian, Lord of Tor-Brian in Devonshire, and she had the manour of Honiton in dower or jointure: she was sister to the famous Buy Lord Brian, who was standard-bearer to the King in the famous Battle of Crecy, where behaving himself with great courage and valour, in recompence thereof, he had a grant of two hundred marks a year out of the exchequer for life. This Lord Brian was a Baron of Parliament, unto which he was summoned from the 24th of Edward III. to the 13th of Richard II. And in 26 Edward III. when Sir Hugh Courtenay, his brother-in-law, was commissioned to array the men of Devonshire and Cornwall, he was one of the commissioners to arm and array the men of Yorkshire and Berkshire, and was often employed by the King in his wars in France and Scotland; in all which he behaved himself with so great satisfaction to his Prince, that he was elected into the Society of the most noble Order of the Garter.

Sir Hugh Courtenay had by his wife, sister to the Lord Brian, a son named Hugh, who coming to man's estate married Matilda daughter of Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent, and Joan his wife, daughter of Edmund of Woodstock, son to King Edward I. who was for her beauty commonly called The Fair Maid of Kent, and was afterwards, being a widow, married to the Prince of Wales, commonly called The Black Prince, and by him was mother of Richard II. King of England: so that the Lady which Hugh Courtenay, son of Sir Hugh Courtenay, married, was half-sister to King Richard II. daughter-in-law to the Black Prince, and granddaughter to Edward I. This Hugh Courtenay, son of Sir Hugh Courtenay; died young, in the lost year of Edward III. 1377, before his grand-father the Earl, who died the some year. And after his death, 3 Richard II. 1380, a little after Easter, this Lady Matilda Courtenay his widow (the fairest Lady in England, saith Froissard) was married to the Lord Valeran,

Earl of St.Paul, who having been taken prisoner in the marches of Calais, was kept in the English court, and by his winning behaviour did much engage the ladies affection to him, The Princess her mother was at first much against the match, but at last she yielded, and the King her brother gave his consent, and for her dowry bestowed upon the Earl the manour of Byfleet. Walsington says, that this marriage was celebrated on the Octaves of Easter at Windsor, with great pomp, and the Earl got from France a great many musicians and dancers for that purposes

This Lady Matilda, when she married Hugh Courtenay, had for her dower the manour of Sutton-Courtenay in the County of Berks, and Waddesden in the County of Bucks, which were settled by the Earl his grandfather upon her, and the heirs of her body begotten by him: and when the inquisition was taken after his death, in 51 Edward I. the jurors did say, that he died without any issue begotten of her. These two, Hugh Courtenay, the eldest son of the Earl of Devonshire, and Hugh his son, if they had succeeded to the Earldom, would have been two of the greatest men of the age they lived in. The arms of Sir Hugh Courtenay, eldest son of the Earl, are in Tiverton Church impaled with those of Brian, viz, Or, three piles in point azure.

CHAPTER X.

William Courtenay, the fourth son, says Dugdale, (the fifth says Pole) of Hugh the second Earl of Devonshire of that name, and Margaret his wife, daughter of Humphry de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, by Elizabeth his wife, daughter of King Edward I. was born about the year 1336, at Exminster in the County of Devon, as he himself said in his will, in which he bequeathed several things to the Church of St.Martin's in that parish: in his youth he studied the canon-law in Oxford in Exeter-College, as Mr.Wood thinks; which College Walter Stapleton, Bishop of Exeter, had built and endowed, and was then called Stapleton-Hall, but since Exeter-College. As soon as he had entered into Orders, he had several Ecclesiastical Preferments conferred upon him; as a prebend in the Church of Exeter, another in Wells, and another in the Church of York, besides Benefices of Cure of Souls; and being Doctor of Laws, he became chancellor of the University, 1367, 41 Edward III. He was not chosen in that manner that others were, but the masters regent and non-regent, in a convocation held the Thursday before Whitsunday, that they might pay that respect to him that was due to a person of his high birth, (for, as Mr.Wood says, he was the King's cousin) desired him, that he would honour that office by accepting it, and taking it upon him: But it doth not appear, says Mr.Wood, that he was confirmed by the Bishop of the Diocese; (the Bishop of London) that power of the Bishop being about that time taken away: he was chancellor again in the year 1368; and in the next year, 1369, he occurs chancellor again: and in that year he was elected Bishop of Hereford, being no less famous, as Arch-Bishop Parker says, for his learning and prudence than for his great nobility. After he had sate there five years and a half, he was translated to London, in the year 1375, 49 Edward III. at that time when Simon Sudbury was translated from London to Canterbury.

In 1376, 50 Edward III. a convocation "as called by Simon Sudbury, Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, to meet at St. Paul's in London , (the Parliament then sitting at Westminster) where Wickliff was summoned to appear, and he came accordingly, but in a different manner than what was expected for four fryers chose out of the four orders, batchelors of divinity by the Duke of Lancaster's order assisted him: The Lord Piercy, Earl Marshal of England, did usher him in, and the Duke of Lancaster himself attended him. The enmity that these lords had to the prelates was the only cause of the kindness that they showed to Wickliff; and they encouraged him all they could, and bid him not to be afraid at the sight of the bishops; for they art all, said the Duke, unlearned in respect of you. Great was the concourse of the people that came to see and hear what was done, so that the Lord Piercy could scarcely break through the croud in the church; and the noise and the disturbance that he made highly offended the Bishop of London, as profaning the place and disturbing the assembly whereupon there followed a sharp contest between them: Bishop Courtenay said to the Lord Piercy, If I had known what disturbance you would have made in the church, I would have kept you out: Upon which the Duke of Lancaster said, he shall use his authority here; although you say nay. And the Lord Piercy said, Wickliff sit down; for you have many things to answer to, and you had need to repose yourself on a soft seat: The Bishop said, It is unreasonable that one cited before his ordinary should sit during his answer; He must and shall stand. The Duke of Lancaster said, My Lord Piercy's motion for Wickliff is but reasonable and as for you, my Lord Bishop, who are grown so proud and arrogant I will bring down your pride, and the pride of all the prelates in England, The Bishop said to him, do your worst: Then said the Duke, thou bearest thy self so high upon thy parents, who shall not be able to help theme they shall have enough to do to help themselves. The Bishop made answer, My confidence is not in my parents, nor in any man else, but only in GOD, in whom I trust, by whose assistance I will be bold to speak the truth. Then the Duke said, rather that I will take this at his hands, I will pluck him by the hair of the head out of the church. These last words of the Duke, although but softly whispered in the ear of one that stood next to him, were notwithstanding over-heard by some of the Londoners, who being enraged that such an affront should be offered to the Bishop, fell furiously upon the Lords, who were fain to depart for the present, and by getting away privately to secure themselves. The Londoners cried out, That they would not see their Bishop to be thus abused, but would lose their lives rather than he should be pulled out of the church in that manner as the Duke threatened. By this disturbance it came to pass, that the court broke up before nine a-clock, and Wickliff was at that time commanded by the court not to preach any more such false doctrines as he was accused of: and the Duke and the Lord Piercy went that morning to the parliament, where the some day a bill was put up before dinner, in the name of the King, by the Lord Thomas Woodstock and Lord Henry Piercy, containing, that the city of London should no more be governed by a mayor, but by a captain, as in times past; and that the marshall of England should take the arrests in that city, as in other cities; with other clauses more, tending to the prejudice of the liberties of the city of London: which bill being read, John Philpot, citizen for the city, stood up and said, that this was never so seen before; adding moreover, that the mayor would never suffer any such thing, or any other arrest than usual, to be brought into the city;

with other words of the like nature. The next day the Londoners assembled themselves in a common-council, to consider among themselves about the bill for taking off the mayor, and about the office of the marshal, as also concerning the injuries done the day before to the Bishop. And whilst they were in council, they were informed by the Lord Fitzwalter, that the Lord Piercy had in his house; within the liberties of the city, one in ward and custody; whereupon the citizens in all haste, being in great fury, ran to their arms, and went forthwith to the Lord Piercy's house, where breaking open the gates by violence, they took out the prisoner, and burnt the stocks wherein he was put in the middle of the streets: they then sought for the Lord Piercy, whom doubtless they would have slain if they could have found him; but he was then with the Duke, whom one, John Yper had that day invited to dinner. The Londoners not finding the Lord Piercy at homeland supposing he was with the Duke, went in all haste to the Savoy to the Duke's house, and he not being at home they were disappointed. In the mean time, one of the Duke's servants went to the Duke and the Lord Piercy, telling them what was done: the Duke was then eating oysters, and he leaving his oysters went so hastily away, that he broke both his shins against the form, getting out in haste; and he took boat with the Lord Piercy and went to Kingston, where then the Princess with Richard the young Prince did lie. The Londoners in the streets meeting a priest that spoke against their doings, did so beat him, that he died a few days after of his wounds: neither would the rage of the people thus have ceased, but they would have pulled down the Duke's house, had not Bishop Courtenay, leaving his dinner, come to them to the Savoy, and putting them in mind of the Holy time of Lent, perswaded them to depart.

The articles that were then collected out of Wickliff's sermons, and which were thought heretical, were, as Mr.Fox says, these that follows "1. That the Holy Eucharist after consecration is not the Body of Christ but figuratively. 2. That the Church of Rome is not the head of all churches, more than any other church is, nor that Peter had any more power given of Christ than any other Apostle had. 3. That the Pope of Rome hath no more power of the keys of the Church than hath any other within the Order of Priesthood. 4. If GOD be, the lords temporal may lawfully and meritoriously take away the temporalities from the churchmen offending habitualiter. 5. If any Lord does know the Church so offending, he is bound under pain of damnation to take the temporalities from the same. 6. That all the Gospel is a rule sufficient of itself to rule the life of every Christian man here, without any other rule. 7. That all other rules, under whose observances divers religious persons be governed, do add no more perfection to the gospel, than doth the white colour to the wall. 8. That neither the Pope, nor any other prelate of the Church, ought to have prisons wherein to punish transgressors.'

Mr. Wood says, that a great quarrel that happened some time before in the University of Oxford, between the scholars and townsmen, continued home to this year; and the scholars not minding the King's Orders which he sent to them before, the King committed the suppressing disorders to certain wise men who had been formerly of the University, viz. to William Courtenay, Bishop of London, Thomas Arundel, Bishop of Ely, and others, of whom any three or four of them should have power of hearing and determining the matter.

The next year, being 1377, King Edward III. after he had reigned 51 years, departed this life, in the sixty fourth year of his age. King Richard, second son of Prince Edward, commonly called the Black Prince, being but eleven years old, began his reign, June 21, 1377. About Michaelmas a parliament met in the first year of the King; and the first thing that was done, was a petition made by the commons, that a council might be joined to the King's officers to advise him in the affairs of the government and the counsellors were appointed by parliament, viz. William Bishop of London, the Bishops of Carlisle and Salisbury, the Earls of March and Stafford, Sir Richard de Stafford and Sir Henry le Scroop, Bannerets, Sir John Devoreaux and Sir Hugh Segrave, Knights,

This year there were certain articles drawn out of Wickliff's works by the bishops, and sent to Pope Gregory at Rome, where the said articles being read and perused, were condemned by three and twenty cardinals And the said Pope the next year, 1378, sendeth his bull, by the hands of Edmund Stafford, son of the Earl of Stafford, and afterwards Bishop of Exeter, directed unto the University of Oxford, in which he rebukes them sharply for suffering the doctrine of John Wickliff to take root. Besides this bull sent to the University of Oxford, the Pope sent letters at the same time to Simon Sudbury, Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, to William Courtenay, Bishop of London, with the conclusions of Wickliff therein enclosed, commanding them, by virtue of those his letters apostolical, and strictly enjoining them to cause the said John Wickliff to be apprehended and cast into prison; and that the King and nobles should be admonished by them not to give any credit to the said John Wickliff, or to his doctrine, and at the same time he writeth a letter to the King to be aiding and assisting to the Bishops in suppressing the doctrine of Wickliff.

The articles inclosed in the letters are these that follow:

"1. All the race of mankind here on Earth, beside Christ, have no power simply to ordain, that Peter and all his offspring should politicky rule over the world forever. 2. GOD cannot give to any man for him and his heirs any civil dominion for ever. 3. All writings invented by man, as touching perpetual heritage, are impossible. 4. Every man, being in grace Justifying, hath not only right unto the thing, but also for his time hath right indeed to all the good things of GOD. 5. A man cannot only ministratoriously give any temporal or continual gift, either as well to his natural son, as to his son by imitaton. 6. If GOD be, the temporal lords may lawfully and meritoriously take away the riches from the church when they do offend habitualiter. 7. We know that Christ's Vicar cannot, neither is able by his bulls, neither by his own will and consentg neither by the consent of his collegeeither to make able or disable any man. 8. A man cannot be excommunicated to his hurt or undoing, except he be first and principally excommunicated by himself. 9. No man ought, but in GOD'S cause alone, to excommunicate, suspend, or forbid, or otherwise to proceed to revenge by ecclesiastical censure. 10. A curse or excommunication doth not simply bind, but in case it be pronounced and given out against the adversary of GOD'S law. 11. There is no power given by any example, either by Christ or his apostles, to excommunicate any subject, especially for denyng any temporelties, but rather contrarywise. 12. The disciples of Christ have no power to exactiby any civil authority, temporalities by censures. 13. It is not possible by the absolute power of GOD, that if

"Pope, or any other Christian, do pretend by any means to bind or loose, that he doth thereby so bind and loose, 14. We ought to believe, that the Vicar of Christ doth at such times only bind and loose, when as he worketh conformably by the law and ordinance of Christ. 15, This ought universally to be believed, that every priest, rightly and duely ordered according to the Law of Grace, hath power, according to his vocation, wherby he may minister the sacraments, and consequently absolve any man confess in his fault, being contrite and penitent for the same, 16. It is lawful for Kings, in causes licensed by the law, to take away the temporalities from the spiritually sinning habualiter: that is, which continue in the custom of sin, and will not amend. 17. Whether they be temporal lords, or any other men, whatsoever they be, which have endowed any church with temporalities, it is lawful for them to take the same temporalities, as it were by way of medicine, to avoid sin, notwithstanding any excommunication, or other ecclesiastical censure forasmuch as they are not given but under a condition, 18. An ecclesiastical minister, and also the Bishop of Rome, may lawfully be rebuked of his subjects, and for the profit of the church be accused either of the clergy or of the laity."

When the bishops had received the letters from the Pope with these articles inclosed, they declared in a provincial council, "That all manner of respects of fear or favour set apart, no person, neither high nor low, should let them, neither would they be seduced by the intreaty of any man, nor by any threatnings nor rewards; but in this cause they would execute most surely upright justice and equity; yea albeit present danger of life should follow thereupon." And John Wickliff was again ordered to appear before the Arch-Bishop Simon Sudbury at Lambeth, where, whilst he was upon his examination, a certain person of the King's court, one Lewis Clifford, entering in amongst the bishops, commanded them in the King's name, that they should not proceed to any definitive sentence against John Wickliff; and so he escaped the second time out of the hands of the bishops, and was by then dismissed, after he had exhibited in writing unto the Bishops a protestation, with his exposition upon the said articles, which is at large in Mr. Fox.

In this years 1378, 2 Richard II, there was committed a barbarous murder in the sanctuary at Westminster, which whether caused by the Duke of Lancaster, or not, is uncertain; yet he was so far concerned in it; as that it redounded much to his dishonour, and encreased the hatred of him amongst the people. The occasion of it was this; in the war which Edward the Black Prince had in Spain for the restoration of Peter King of Castille and Leon, two gentlemen Robert Hawl and John Shakell, had by their valour taken the Earl of Denia prisoner; and that such brave actions might be encouraged, the Prince himself, and Sir John Shandois, a chief commander under him, gave him to the gentlemen to make the best of his ransom. The Earl being thus left in their hands, made an agreement with them for his liberty, and left his son as a hostage 'till the ransom was paid, which the Earl neglecting, the Earl's son remained with them many years. The Duke of Lancaster, who had married one of the heiresses of the crown of Spain, who were kept out of their right by their uncle, casting about to find out all ways how to recover his wife's right, thought upon the restitution of the Earl of Denia's son, whereby he might oblige his father to engage in his interest and make a party among

his friends for him; wherefore the Duke sends to Mr.Howl and Shakell, in the King's name, to deliver up their prisoner and because they obstinately refused, he caused them to be imprisoned in the Tower: The gentlemen, though thus unjustly handled, yet kept him, and after some time made their escape out of the Tower, and got to the sanctuary at Westminster, where they hoped to find more liberty and kinder usage. The constable of the Tower, Sir Allen Bushell, a great friend of the Duke's, much troubled at this escaper contrived with the Lord Latimer and Sir Ralph Forrers, two of the Duke's creatures, to take them by force out of the sentuary, and accordingly, with a sufficient strength of armed men, entered the abbey-church when the monks were at prayers, and Biezod upon the two Gentlemen: Mr.Hawl made some opposition, and was slain in the choir with a monk, and his servant who stood up for his assistance but Mr.Shakoll they carried away with them to the Tower, from whence he at length got his freedom by resigning his prisoner unto theme upon condition, that he should receive an hundred marks per annum, and that the King should found a chountry of five priest to pray for the souls of Mr.Hawl and his servant. This violation of the sanctuary was so highly resented by the Arch-Bishop, Bishop of London, and other bishops, that they excommunicated all that were assistants in this murdert except the King, Queen, and Duke of Lancestor; and the Bishop of London pronounced the excommunication every Sunday, Wednesday, and Friday for a long time after. The King, looking upon it as a reflection upon himself and the Duke, sent to the Bishop to forbear reading the excommunication, who not regarding the order was summoned to Windsor; but he would not obey; Whereupon the Duke of Lancaster in a rage told the King, That he would fetch the Bishop by force to him, in spite of those rebels the Londoners, if he would give him leave. These words lost the Duke the good-will of the city, and made him generally thought the author of the murder.

In the year 1390, William Barton, Chancellor of Oxford, calling unto his eight monastical doctors and four others, with the consent of the university, did put forth and edict, sealed with the common seal of the university, in which he threatens with a severe penalty all those that should associate themselves with the favourers of Wickliff; and unto Wickliff himself he threatned the greater excommunication, and furthur, imprisonment, and to all his favourerers, unless that they, after three days canonical admonition, did repent and amend: Which when Wickliff understood, he thought to appeal to the King's majesty; but the Duke of Lancaster coming between forbad him, and told him, That he should not for the future attempt or begin any such matters, but rather should submit himself unto the censure and Judgment of his ordinary. Wickliff being thus beset with troubles, says Mr.Fox, was forced once more to make confession of his doctrial in which confession, to avoid the rigour of things, he answered as before, making his declaration, and qualifying his assertions after such a sort, that he did mitigate and assuage the rigour of his enemies. But Mr.Wood says, that the university, upon the receiving the Pope's letter, did condemn the articles taken out of Wickliff's works as heretical, and that Wickliff was made to recant: and that in the year 1380, Wickliff being in great danger, and not knowing which way to get out of it, was forced to recent a second time before the chancellor and many doctors of the University, there being present also the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, and other Bishops.

The next year 1381, the commons of Essex and Kent rebelled by reason of a great tax that was laid upon the people, and they drew together and went to Maidstone, from thence to Blackheath, and so to London, and entered the Tower, and took out the ArchBishop Simon Sudbury, with some others, and beheaded them on Tower-Hill: they put to death all that they found belonging to the Law, and all Flemmings, and destroyed all the books of law, records, and monuments that they could meet with, and set all prisoners at liberty.

The King offered them peace, upon condition they would cease burning houses and killing of men, which the Essex-men accepted of and went home; but the Kentish-men staid burning and destroying as before. The King sent Sir John Newton, knight, to Wat Tyler their captain, to intreat him to come and talk with the King; The knight doing his message, Wat Tyler answered, he would come at his own leisure; nevertheless he followed softly, and when he came near Smithfield, where the King staid for his coming, the King commanded William Walwarth, the mayor, to arrest the rebell and the mayor being a man of great courage, struck him on the head in such a manner, that he astonished him, and then they that were with the King thrust him through the body in several places; which when his followers perceived, they cried out that their captain was traiterously slain: But the King rode unto them, and said, What do you mean? I will be your captain; follow me, and you shall have what you do require, In the mean time the mayor rode into the city, and rose the citizens, and in a little time returned with a thousand well-armed men, Sir Robert Knoles, a citizen of London, being their leader. The King rejoycing at this unlooked for aid, suddenly encompassed the rebels with fighting men, and the rebels throwing down their arms begged pardon, which was granted, and then the multitude was dispersed. Jack Straw being taken confessed all the conspiracy, and lost his head at London.

The reason why they murdered the Arch-Bishop, who was chancellor, and Sir Robert Hales the treasurer, was, because they in council dissuaded the King from going to them as they desired; for as soon as they heard it, they vowed they would take off their heads.

The Arch-Bishop, having had some notice of their design the day before, spent all the night in prayer, and just when they demanded him was saying of mass in the chapel of the Towert Mass being ended, and he hearing of their coming, said to his men, Let us now go; surely it is best to die, seeing to live it can be no pleasure; With that in came those murderous rebels, crying, Where is the traytor? where is the traytor? He answered, I am the Arch-Bishop, whom I think you seek, but no traytor. With great violence then they drew him out of the chapel, and carried him to the Tower Hill, where seeing nothing but swords and weapons, and hearing nothing but kill, kill, away with the traytor; he was not so amazed, but with great eloquence he could go about to perswade them not to imbrue their hands in the blood of their Arch-Bishop, their chief pastor, that had never offended them to his knowledge, nor deserved so cruel a death at their hands; but they would not hearken to him; He seeing therefore nothing but death before his face, with comfortable words forgiving the executioner that scarce ever requested him so to do, with a chearful countenance kneeled down, and yielded himself unto their fury. Once he was stricken on the neck so weakly, as that, notwithstanding the blow, he kneeled still upright, and putting his hand up to the wound, he used these words, Ah! ha! it is the hand of GOD: he had not moved his hand from the place, when a second strike cut off his fingers ends, and felled

felled him to the ground; with much a-do, having hacked and hewen his neck with eight blows; they got off his head. This horrible murder was committed upon Friday, June 14, 1381. The Arch-Bishop Simon Sudbury being thus barbarously murdered, William Courtenay, Bishop of London, was translated to Canterbury, after he had set at London three years. The Monks of Canterbury did with one consent elect him to be Arch-Bishop, and did send to the Pope, before he had heard of their requests had designed to translate him to Canterbury, and sent his bulls for that purpose. The bulls of his translation were published in Christ-Church in Canterbury, January 9; and then having received his temporal from the King, and done homage for the same, he went to Lambeth; and there came to him a monk, sent from the Prior and Convent of Canterbury, to deliver him the cross, which he did in the Chapel of Lambeth, January 22, saying these words; Reverend Father, I am the messenger of the great King, that doth require and command you to take upon you the Government of his church, to love and defend the same.

As soon as the Arch-Bishop had received the cross, he was in doubt whether he might have it carried before him before he had received his pall from Rome; and from that question there arose another. At that time there came into England the sister of the King of Bohemia to be married to King Richard II. and it did belong to the Arch-Bishop of right to perform the ceremony of marrying them, and to put the crown on the queen's head, but he doubted whether he could do this before he had received his palli but these doubts of the Arch-Bishop were at last taken away, not by lawyers and canonists, but by the Monks of Canterbury, who brought many instances of things of that nature done by Arch-Bishops before they had received their palli but the Arch-Bishop was so cautious, that he entered a protest, signifying, that what he did in that matter was not in contempt of the Bishop of Rome; and then a little after the feast of the Epiphany he performed the ceremony of marrying the King, which was done with great pomp, and in a great assembly of the nobility and then a little after he crowned the queen, and the golden eagle full of precious oil was delivered to him by the King, which was preserved from the time of Henry II, and by tradition said to be first given by the Virgin Mary to the then Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, Thomas a-Becket, and the Arch-Bishop anointed the queen with it. And in the beginning of the spring he sent over a knight, names Sir Thomas Cheney, to the Pope, to whom and to one John Tragnaul, an Englishman, that was then master of the Pope's palace, he gave procuratorial power of asking of the Pope his pall, which being obtained, Sir Thomas Cheney returned to England, and delivered it to the Bishop of London, says Arch-Bishop Parkeri but Harpsfield says to the Bishop of Rochester, whose right it was to put the pall upon the Arch-Bishop's shoulders, and to give him the oath, in which he is sworn to the Pope: but by which of them soever it was, it was delivered to the Arch-Bishop, and put upon his shoulders in a great crowd of people with the usual pomp and solemnity, he sitting in the chapel of his palace at Croydon, on the 6th of May.

Amongst other ceremonies then performed, Harpsfield says he did expressly renounce the Anti-Pope Clement, which the French set up as the parliament had done before; for upon the death of Pope Gregory II. who died the same year that he sent his letters into England against Wickliff, or the beginning of the year after, there were two popes set up, Pope Urban, whom the English owned for Pope, and Pope Clement, whom the

French fat up; and the schism between these two popes and their successors continued thirty nine years, until the time of the Council of Constance.

In the Lateran Council, 1179, it was decreed, that no Arch-Bishop should receive the pall, unless he should first swear to the pope; and the form of the oath is this: I N. Bishop of N. henceforth from this hour will be faithful and obedient to blessed St.Peter, and to the Holy Apostolick church of Rome, and to my Lord N. the Pope; I shall be in no Council, neither will I help by my consent or deed any thing "hereby either of them, or any member of them may be impaired,or whereby they may be taken with any evil taking. The Council which they shall commit to me, either by themselves or messengers, or by their letters, I shall wittingly or willingly discover to none, to their hinderance or damage. To the retaining and maintaining the papacy of Rome and the regalities of St.Peter I shall be always assisting, so mine order be saved, against all persons. The legate of the apostolick see, both in going out and coming in, I shall honourably intreat, and help in all necessities. Being called to a synod I shall be ready to come, unless I be let by some lawful and canonical impediment. The palace of the apostles every third year I will visit,vither by myself or my messenger, except being otherwise licensed by the see apostolick. All such possessions as belong to the table and diet of my bishoprick I shall neither sell, nor give, nor put to mortgage, nor lease out, nor remove away, by any manner of means, without the consent and knowledge of the bishop of Rome: so help me and the Holy Gospels of GOD.

And it was in this Council of Lateran agreed, that no arch-bishop should receive the pall unless he should first take this oath: and when the pope does deliver the pall he says these words; To the Honour of Almighty God, and of blessed Mary the Virgin, and of blessed St.Peter and St.Paul, and of our Lord Pope N. and of the holy church of Rome, and also of the Church of N. committed to your charge, we give to you the pall taken from the body of St.Peter, as a fulness of the office pontifical which you may wear within your own church upon certain days, which be expressed in the priviledges of the said church granted by the see apostolical. There was a difference between the popes and the arch-bishops as to the wearing the palli the pope might wear it all times and in all places at his pleasure Arhc-Bishops might not wear it but upon certain days, and in the churches only within their province moreover, this pall is to be obtained within three months after election, without which the person elected is not to be called archbishop and if it be not obtained within three months he may be deposed; and this pall must be buried with the person that has itl and when it is given, some priviledge must be given,with it, or the old priviledges renewed; the price of this pall was commonly one thousand florins.

These ceremonies of the arch-bishops's instalment being over, he went upon the exercise of his office; and in the first place he restrained the bailiffs of Canterbury from punishing by a lay-power adultery and other crimes, which it did belong to bishops and their courts to punish, and punished them with ecclesiastical censures for doing it. He had the sergeants of the city also before him, for bearing their maces, or the signs of their authority, within the precincts of his church; but at the petition of the city they were dismissed, upon the promise that for the time to come they leave their maces without the outer gate when they come to church, or without the precincts of the church, He had also the bailiffs of the town of Romney before him for meddling in church matters, who obstinately

rebelled, and endeavoured to secure themselves by a prohibition, but were disappointed; for the arch-bishop got the prohibition reversed and, as saith the record, made that unadvised town to submit.

About the beginning of November, 1381, a little after the arch-bishop had been elected by the monks of Canterbury, the King called a parliament, which was the sixth parliament of his reing; and the King being in parliament, and the council appointed to manage affors in the King's minority being called ovary by their names, William Arch-Bihstop of Canterbury elect and confirmed, Chancellor of England, began to declare the cause of calling the parliament, taking for his theme Rex convenire fecit consilium upon which he made a good oration, and spike of the good virtuous government of the King and his reign; affirming, that no reign could long endure, if vice reigned therein; to redress which, seeing it could not be done by the ordinary course of the law, the King, he said, had called this parliament so says Sir Robert Cotton, in his Abridgement of the Records of the Tower; but the English History says, that towards the latter end of this parliament, at the request of Lords and Commons, the Lord Scroop was made Chancellor, and Sir Hugh Begrave Treasurer, those great places remaining vacant ever since the rebellion in which the arch-bishop and Sir Robert Hales were slain. Now it is plain by the records of the tower, and the arch-bishop's monument that he was chancellor, but it was not long: and, in all probability in this parliament he resigned that place, that he might the better attend the affairs of the church; for he was resolved to do what did lie In his power to suppress the doctrines of Wickliff; and in order to it he called a synod, May 17, 1382, to be held in the priory of the preaching-fryers in London, where Wickliff was commanded to be present; but whether he was there or not, it does not appear. The mandate for convening the said synod, taken out of the arch-bishop's register, is as follow;

"Whereas amongst the nobles, as well as amongst the commons, there has been a rumour spread abroad, that divers conclusions, both erroneous and repugnant to the determinations of the church, which tend to the subversion of the whole church, and to our province of Canterbury, and also to the subversion of the whole realm, have been preached in sundry places of our said province commonly and publickly, We William, by GOD's permission, Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and legate of the set opostolical, being minded to itxecute our office, and do our duty herein, have convocated, or called together, certain of our brethren and others, a great many as well doctors as bachelors in divinity, and doctors of the canon and civil law, and those whom we thought to be the most famous, most skilful, and most sound in religion, that were in the realm, whose names hereafter followl and the same men being the 17th day of May, 1382, in a certain chamber in the territories of the fryers-preachers in London before us and our follow-brethren assembled, then and there personally present; after the said conclusions, which do hereafter follow, were openly proposed and plainly and distinctly read, we charged them, as they would answer before the High Judge in the Day of Judgement, that they should speak their opinions touching the said conclusions, and what every one did think concerning theme and at length, after good deliberation had upon the promisses, our brethren the bishops aforesaid, and the doctors and bachelors were assembled again, the 21st day of May, in the aforesaid chamber, and then the said conclusions again and again repeated, and plainly

read, they did agree, consent, and declare, that some of the conclusions are heretical, and others erroneous, and contrary to the determination of the church: and forasmuch as by sufficient information we find and perceive, that the said conclusions in many places of the said province have been, as it is said, both taught and preached, and that divers persons do hold and maintain the same, and are of heresie vehemently and notoriously suspected, we have thought good, as well generally as specially, to send out this process under-written, etc."

After this, in the arch-bishop's register, are found the names of those bishops, and others that were convened, who did condemn the conclusions of Wickliff; as also the conclusion themselves, those that were condemned as heretical, and those that were condemned as erroneous and they are these which follows "The substance of the bread and wine doth remain in the sacrament of the alter after the consecration. 2.The accidents do not remain without the subject in the same sacrament. 3.That Christ is not in the sacrament of the alter truly and really in his corporal person. 4.That if a bishop or priest be in deadly sin, he doth not order, consecrate, nor baptize. 5.That if a man be duly contrite and penitentsall exterior and outward confession is but superfluous and unprofitable unto him. 6.That it is not found or stablished by the gospel, that Christ did make or ordain mass. 7.If the pope be a reprobate and evil man, and consequently a member of the devil, he hath no power, by any manner of means, given unto him over faithful Christians, except peradventure it be given him from the Emperour. 8.The since the time of Urban the VIth. there is none to be received for Pope, but every man is to live, after the manner of the Greeks, under his own law. 9.That it is against the scripture that ecclesiastical ministers should have any temporal possessions." The other articles condemned as erroneous are these: "10.That no prelate ought to excommunicate any man, except he knew him first to be excommunicate of GOD. 11.That he hath doth so excommunicate any man is thereby himself either an heretick or excommunicated. 12.That a prelate or bishop excommunicating any of the clergy, which hath appealed to the king or the council, is thereby himself a traytor to the king and the realm. 13.That all such which do leave off preaching the gospel, for fear of excommunication, they are already excommunicated, and in the day of Judgement shall be counted as traitors unto GOD. 14. That it is lawful for any man, either deacon or priest, to preach the word of GOD without authority, or licence of the see apostolick, or any other of his catholicks. 15.That as long as a man is in deadly sin, he is neither bishop nor prelate in the church of GOD. 16.Also, that the temporal lords may, according to their own will and discretion, take away the temporal goods from the churchmen, whensoever they do offend. 17.That tenths are pure alms, and that the parishioners may, for offence of their curates, detain and keep them back, and bestow the same upon others, at their own will and pleasure. 18.That also all special prayers, applied to any private or particular person by any prelate or religious man, do no more profit the same person by any prelate or religious man do no more profit the same person than general or universal prayers do profit others which be in like case or state unto him, 19.Moreover in that any man doth enter into any private religion, whatsoever it be, he is there-by made the more unapt, and unable to observe and keep the commandments of GODD. 20.That holy men which have instituted private religions,

(whatsoever they be, as well such as are indued or possessed) in so doing have grievously offended. 21. That religious men being in their private religions are not of the Christian religion. 22. That fryers are bounden to get their living by the labour of their hands, and not by begging. 23. That whosoever doth give any alms unto fryers, or to any begging observant, is accursed, or in danger thereof."

The Arch-bishop about this time did send his letter to the Bishop of London, wherein he says, We will and command your brotherhood and by virtue of holy obedience, straitly enjoin all and singular our brethren and suffragans of our body and church of Canterbury, that every one of them in their churches, and other places of their city and diocese, do admonish and warn, that no man from henceforth do hold, preach, or defend the aforesaid heresies and errors, or any of them, under the pain of the greater curse, the which we command to be thundered against all and every one of them which shall be disobedient in this behalf; the which letter is at large in Mr. Fox.

On the 12th day of June in the year aforesaid, 1382, in the chamber of the fryers-preachers, master Robert Rigge, Chancellor of the University of Oxford, and Thomas Brightwell, Professors of Divinity, according to appointment, appeared before the Arch-bishop in the presence of the Bishop of Winchester, and divers other doctors and bachelors of divinity, and of the canon and civil law; and first the said chancellor being examined by the Arch-bishop, what his opinion was as touching the aforesaid articles, publickly affirmed and declared, that certain of those conclusions were heretical, and certain erroneous, as the other doctors and clerks aforementioned had declared and then immediately next after him the aforesaid Thomas Brightwell was examined, who upon some of the conclusions at first somewhat hesitated; but in the end, being by the said Arch-bishop diligently examined upon the same, did affirm and repute the same to be heretical and erroneous, as the aforesaid chancellor had done. Another bachelor of divinity, whose name is not mentioned, hesitated also at some of these conclusions at first, but in the end affirmed, that his opinion was the same with the judgment of the aforesaid chancellor and Thomas Brightwell, as is above declared. Then the Lord Arch-Bishop of Canterbury delivered unto the chancellor of the university his letters patents, which were then publickly read, to be by him executed; in which he commands him, that he cause to be read in St. Mary's church, when there is a sermon, and also in the schools, when publick lectures are read, the articles that were by him and other bishops condemned, together with the condemnation of them; and he likewise in these letters enjoined him to suspend from preaching, and all scholastical exercises John Wickliff, Nicholas Hereford, Philip Rippington, John Ashton, and Laurence Redman, whom he vehemently suspected to be guilty of heresy; and that he publickly denounce them to be suspended and that if he find any others to be suspected guilty of the said errors, that he suspend them from all publick exercises, and that he take all the care he can to suppress the doctrines of Wickliff. This letter is at large in Fox, taken out of the bishop's register.

A few days after the Arch-bishop sends down another letter to Robert Rigge, chancellor of the university much to the same purpose, which letter is at large in Fox, taken out of the Arch-bishop's registers in which he says; that by good information, and by experience, he did find, that the chancellor was inclined to the doctrines of Wickliff; and therefore he did peremptorily admonish him not to grieve, let, or molest those that did adhere

to the doctrines of the church; and that he suspend from preaching the persons afore-named, and declare them to be suspended until they did clear their innocency before him, under the pain of the greater curse to be inflicted upon him, if he did not obey the said admonitions.

Upon the 18th day of the month aforesaid, and the year aforesaid, in the chamber of the preaching-fryers aforementioned, appeared, according to summons, Nicholas Hereford and Philip Rippington, bachelors in divinity, who, after a corporal oath taken to give their judgment upon the conclusions aforesaid, were severally examined before the Archbishop; and they there required a day and place to deliberate upon the conclusions aforesaid, and to give their answers unto the same in writing, and also did desire a copy of the said conclusions to be delivered unto them; the which copy being openly read unto them, the said Nicholas and Philip received. Also the aforesaid John Ashton was examined, and judicially admonished by the Arch-bishops by virtue of his oath, that he, setting aside all sophistical words and subtilties, do speak his mind fully and plainly upon the conclusions aforesaid and being asked moreover by the said Archbishop, whether he would have farther day to deliberate upon his answer, as the aforesaid Nicholas Hereford and Philip Rippington had before, said expressly that he would not, but would answer presently to those conclusions and for final answer said, as concerning all the conclusions, his final answer was to hold his peace whereupon the Arch-bishop, reputing the said Ashton to be suspected, admonished him in the form of words following We admonish thee; John Ashton, whom we repute to be defamed, and notoriously suspected of heresy, the first, the second, and the third time, that in our province of Canterbury hereafter thou do not preach publicly or privately without our special licences upon the pain of the greater curse, which we denounce here by these presents against thy person, if thou obey not our monitions.

And the Arch-bishop assigned to him Friday next following, which was the 20th day of the same month, after dinner to appear before him, either at Lambeth or the same places to say for himself, one to be denounced through his whole province. Also the Arch-bishop assigned to the aforesaid Nicholas Hereford and Philip Rippington the said day and place, to answer peremptorily, and to speak fully and plainly to the conclusions aforesaid, all sophistication of words and disputation set apart. Mr.Fox says, that on the next day, the 19th of June, St.Dunstan's day, when the Arch-bishop and suffragans, with the other doctors of divinity and lawyers, with a great company of fryers and other religious persons,were gathered together to consult as touching John Wickliff's books, and that whole sects when they were met at the grey-fryers to begin their business, after dinner, about two a-clock, when they were just going to begin their business, a wonderful and terrible earthquake happened throughout all England, whereupon divers of the suffregans, being affrighted, thought fit to leave off their business; but the Arch-bishop encouraged them to go on, and they proceeded to examine the articles of Wickliff, and to give their censure upon them. Upon the next day, the 20th day of June, in the same place, according to order, appeared personally Nicholas Hereford and Philip Rippington, bachelors of divinity, and John Ashton, master of arts, before the Arch-bishop sitting in his tribunal seat, in the presence of divers doctors of divinity, and lawyers both civil and canon, where the aforesaid Nicholas and Philip being required by the said Arch-bishop to answer and speak fully and plainly their Judgments upon the conclusions prefixed for which purpose the Arch-Bishop had

assigned that time, did exhibit to the Arch-bishop there judicially sitting certain answers in writing; and the articles in writing, and the articles with their answers annexed are in the Arch-Bishop's register. And then they being examined upon every one of the articles concerning their answers; the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury demanded of all the doctors there present, what their judgment was concerning the answers that were made to all and singular the conclusions all which doctors, and every one of them severally, said, that all the answers given unto the first, second, third, and sixth conclusion were insufficient, heretical and subtler and that all the answers made to the ninth, tenth, and last conclusion were insufficient erroneous, and perverse. Whereupon the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, considering the said answers to be heretical, subtle, erroneous and perverse, (according as the said doctors aforesaid had weighed and considered) admonished the said Nicholas and Philip in this form of words: The Name of Christ being called upon, We William, by GOD's permission, Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, Metropolitan of all England, and Legate of the Apostolick See, and through all our Province of Canterbury Inquisitor of all heretical privity, do sufficiently and lawfully admonish and cite you, Nicholas Hereford and Phillip Rippington, Professors of Divinity, having this day and place assigned you by your own consent and our prefixion, peremptorily to answer and to say fully your opinions concerning these conclusions, whereunto we do refer you, all subtle, sophistical and logical words set apart, being hereunto sworn, cited, and commanded, which thing you have refused to do; we admonish you therefore, that you answer unto the same conclusions, and unto the sense and meaning by us limited, under the pain that otherwise such conclusions by you confessed do deserve, and that for the same conclusions you ought to have. Which admonition being made, for that the said Philip and Nicholas eight days space; that is to say until the 27th day of the some month, and that then they should appear before the said Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, whithersoever within the said Province of Canterbury he should fortune to be, to hear his decree that should be made on that behalf, And then the Arch-Bishop admonished John Ashton, that he fully and plainly do answer to the conclusions which admonition being promised, the Arch-Bishop read the first conclusion, and asked what his opinion was of it; and then he spoke his mind concerning the moniton; And then being required by the Arch-Bishop to answer in the Latin tongue to those questions that were demanded of his, because of the common people that stood by, he cried out in the English tongue, and uttered opprobrious and frivolous words, to move and excite the people against the Arch-Bishop; neither did he answer directly or pertinently to any of the conclusions but said it was sufficient for his to believe as the Church believed and when the Arch-Bishop asked him, whether after the words of consecration there remaineth material bread in the sacrament? He said, by way of derision, You may put that in your purse if you have any. The Arch-Bishop then called that an unwise and foolish answer, as the rest of the doctors did; and the rather because it did proceed from one that was a graduate in the schools; and then the Arch-Bishop pronounced sentence, and declared some of his conclusions to be heretical, and he in heretick.

Upon the same 20th day of June, the Arch-Bishop being desirous to be informed by Thomas Hillman, Bachelor in Divinity, being there present, and favouring the said John Ashtong what his Judgement was touching

the aforesaid conclusions did prefix and assign unto the said Thomas the 28th day of the same month to appear before the Arch-Bishop, wheresoever in his said Province of Canterbury he should then happen to be, to declare plainly and fully what his opinion was touching the aforesaid conclusions. Friday, June 28, Nicholas Hereford, Philip Rippington, and Thomas Hillman appeared before the Arch-Bishop in the chapel of manour of Otford, in the diocese of Canterbury, there sitting in his tribunal seat: to whom the Arch-Bishop said, That because at that time he had not presence and assistance of the Doctors in Divinity, and of the Canon and Civil Law, he continued the said business, touching the said Nicholas, Philip, and Thomas, in the same state wherein it was 'till Tuesday next, and immediately ensuing, being the 1st of July. Which Tuesday being come, the Arch-Bishop in the chief house of his church of Canterbury, before the hour of nine, with the Doctors and other clerks, a great multitude, expected the aforesaid Nicholas Hereford, Philip Rippington, and Thomas Hillman; Hereford and Rippington did not appear; whereupon the Bishop excommunicated them for their contumacy. And Thomas Hillman being asked by the Arch-Bishop his opinion touching the aforesaid conclusions, he hesitated at first, but at last he made this answer: I suppose and judge all and singular these conclusions lately condemned by my Lord of Canterbury that now is, with the counsel and consent of his clerks, to be heretical and erroneous And I do as much as in me is condemn them, protesting that I will hold and affirm the contrary of these conclusions, and in the same faith live and die, Against the Bishop's excommunication, Nicholas Hereford and Philip Rippington commenced and exhibited their appeal unto the Bishop of Rome; which appeal of theirs, as insufficient, the Arch-Bishop rejected, and writ his letters to him that should preach next at Paul's Cross, to denounce them excommunicated; and he sent another letter to Mr. Rigge, Chancellor of Oxford, strictly charging him, not only to denounce the said sentence of excommunication, and to give publick citations against them, but also to make diligent search for them throughout Oxford, to have them apprehended and sent up to him.

Whilst the Arch-Bishop was thus carrying on his prosecution against Wickliff and his followers, he got an act of parliament to be made, in the 7th parliament of the King's reign, which parliament began the 6th of May this year, by which act it was ordained, "That commissions should, upon the certificate and request of the Bishops into the Chancery, be directed by the chancellor to the sheriffs and others, to apprehend certain preachers of heresy, who without the licence of their ordinaries preached not only in churches and church-yards, but in market-places and other places of concourse, sermons full of error and heresy, and their followers; and to keep them in strong prison until they shall justify themselves according to the law of the Holy Church.' Mr. Fox says this was the first act that ever was made against religion and the professors of it. And by virtue of this act, upon the 16th of June this year, the King sent his letters patents to the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, wherein he does give and grant special licence and authority unto the aforesaid Arch-Bishop of Canterbury and his suffragans to arrest and imprison, either in their own prisons or any other, all and every such person or persons as shall either privily or openly preach and maintain the conclusions condemned by the Arch-Bishop and his suffregans: and further the king charges and commands all and singular his leige men, ministers and subjects, of what state or condition soever they be, not to favour, help, or maintain the preachers or maintainers of the said conclusions, upon pain of forfeiture

forfeiture of all that they have, but they obey and humbly attend upon the said ArchBishop, his suffragans and ministers, in the execution of these presents. And upon the 14th of July, that same year, the King sends likewise his letters patents to the chancellor of the University of Oxford, commanding him to banish and expel from the said University of Oxford, John Wickliff, Nicholas Hereford, Philip Rippington, John Ashton, or any other that is suspected of heresy, or favouring the condemned propositions, 'till such time as they shall declare their innocency before the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury for the time being, by manifest purgation. And the King in the same letters does charge the mayor of Oxford for the time being, and all sheriffs and under-sheriffs, bailiffs, and all his subjects, to be aiding and assisting to the chancellor in the execution of the premisses. And upon the 23d of July the same year, the King sends another letter to the chancellor and the proctors, wherein he commands them, not only to seize upon the aforesaid persons, but also upon all the books that could be found of the aforesaid John Wickliff; Nicholas Hereford, etc. and the persons that had them in their custody; and to bring them up to the Arch-Bishop within a month, upon their faith and allegiance, and as they will avoid the forfeiture of the liberties priviledges of the University. The chancellor of Oxford at that time was Mr. Robert Riggel the proctors were John Huntman and Walter Dish, who favoured as much as they durst the cause of John Wickliff. And a little before these letters of the King came to theme they appointed Nicholas Hereford to preach before the University on Ascension Day, and Rippington upon Corpus-Christi-Day, being the 8th of June, Hereford, in his sermon, defended Wickliff's opinions. The Carmelite Flyers, and particularly one Peter Stokes, who was a great enemy to Wickliff and his doctrine took notes of his sermons and exclaimed bitterly against him for preaching false doctrine. These fryers understanding that Rippington was to preach on Corpus-Christi-Day, desired the ArchBishop, that Wickliff's conclusions, condemned before in convocations together with the condemnation, might on that day, a little before Rippington did begin his sermon, be publickly read before the whole university the doing of which was by the Arch-Bishop committed to Peter Stokes. The Arch-Bishop likewise sent letters to the chancellor, commanding him to aid and assist Stokes in the doing of it. Mr. Wood says, that Stokes was not able to obey the Arch-Bishop's commands, and to publish the articles; but the chancellor did severely reprove him, and did all that he could to stir up the university against him, and said, that Stokes did endeavour all he could to infringe the liberties and priviledges of the university, in which, said he, no bishop ought to exercise any power, or examine about heresy. After Stokes had endeavoured to read the conclusions, but could not do its Rippington at the time appointed began his sermon, in which he said; that the popes or bishops ought not to be recommended in their prayers before temporal lords: that in moral matters he would defend Mr. Wickliff as a true catholick doctor: that the Duke of Lancaster was very earnestly affected in this matter; and that all such as favoured Wickliff should be received under his protection and concluded with this saying, I will, in the speculative doctrine, as pertaining to the matter of the sacrament of the altar, keep silence, until such time as G O D otherwise shall instruct and illuminate at the hearts of the clergy. When the sermon was ended, Rippington went out of St. Frideswide's Church, accompanied with many of his friends with weapons under their coats, which Peter Stokes perceiving kept himself within the sanctuary of the church, not daring to

to put out his head for fear of being hurt. The Chancellor and Rippington friendly saluting one another in the church-porch, dismissed the people, and every man departed to his own home. Peter Stokes, by letters sent to the Arch-Bishop, tells him every thing that was done, and declares that he was hindered from publishing the conclusions, and that he was in danger of his life for attempting of it, and that he and those of his side were still in danger, and desired him to interpose his authority and sent them help, The Arch-Bishop, by letter dated July 9, sent to Peter Stokes, commanding him without delay to appear before him, and to give an account why he did not obey his commands. Peter Stokes went then to London, on St.Barnabas-Day, and the day after he went to the Arch-Bishop at Lambeth, and declared to him that he could not put in execution his orders for fear of his life. Upon the same day appeared the chancellor with Mr.Brightwell, to purge and clear themselves and their adherents from the accusation of this Fryer Peter; but the Arch-Bishop would not hear them 'till the third day after they came;and then examining the matter he declared That he suspected the Chancellor to be guilty of heresy,and that he was one of those that favoured Wickliff, Rippington, and Hereford; and he said the same of Walter Dish and John Huntsman, Proctors; and he appointed the farther examination of the Chancellor and Brightwell to be on the Octaves of Corpus-Christi: And then when they saw that no excuse would prevail, but that they were in danger, they confessed that the conclusions of Wickliff were justly condemned; and the Chancellor kneeling upon his knees, and begging the Arch-Bishop's pardon for contemning his commands, (the Bishop of Winchester, William Wickam, at the same time interceding for him) they were pardoned, And the Arch-Bishop strictly commanded the Chancellor, that he should not favour the Lollards, and that he should not suffer any heresies or errors to be sown, either publicly or privately, either in sermons or in the schools, by lectures or disputations and he commanded him, that he should not suffer either Wickliff, or Hereford, or Rippington, or Ashton, or Redman, to preach publicly, but should suspend them from all publick scholastick acts and exercises, 'till they had purged themselves before the Arch-Bishop.

At the same times at the house of the preaching-fryers in London, he gave orders to the Chancellor, that he should, at St.Mary's church in Oxford publicly, both in Latin and English, publish the conclusions of Wickliff that were condemned, and should take care to do the same in the schools too; and that they should make enquiry into all the colleges and halls, who they were that did defend the said conclusions, and those that did so, he should make to recant by oath. The Chancellor made answer, that if he did so,he should be in great danger of his life. Whereupon the Arch-Bishop replied, That the University was a favourer of hereticks, and that it hindered catholick truths from being published. The Chancellor being charged with an order of the Privy-Council concerning some things that were to be put in execution by him, returns to Oxford the week after, and published the Arch-Bishop's orders; upon which the seculars were so angry with the regulars, who, as they said, went to ruin the University, that a great many were in danger of their lives.

After this, the Chancellor contemning the commands of the Arch-Bishop, did publicly in St.Mary's Church suspend Henry Crompe, Doctor in Divinity, from all publick acts, and accused him of breaking the peace, because he spoke against the doctrine of Wickliff, and called the Lollards hereticks; whereupon the said Henry Crompe went to London, and made his

is complaint to the Lord Chancellor, the Privy Council, and to the Arch-Bishop; and upon his complaint the Chancellor and Proctors were summoned to London by the King's writ, and being severely reprimanded, they were sent home with this orders.

That whereas Henry Crompe, a Monk Doctor in Divinity, who had with some others assisted the Arch-Bishop in condemning the conclusions of Wickliff, had been falsly accused before the Chancellor of some words that he had spoken in his last lecture, and that he had broke the peace of the University, and thereupon did punish him with suspension it is ordered by this writ, that the said Henry, because he was undeservedly punished, be restored to his former statel and that he have power again of reading lectures, or doing any scholastic acts.

In the mean time, Hereford and Rippingtons having had private warning by the Vice-Chancellor, Mr. Robert Rigge, who was ordered to apprehend them, conveyed themselves away privately to London, and waited upon the Duke of Lancaster, being then at Totenhall near London, but the Dukel whether for fear, or for what cause else I cannot say, says Mr. Foxi forsook his poor and miserable clients: But Harpsfield says farther, that when they came to the Duke they opened to him all the matter, and did endeavour to shew him out of the conclusions that were condemned, that the ecclesiastics did endeavour to overturn the civil powers And that the next day there came to the Duke several Doctors of Divinity, desiring him that he would assist them in suppressing the heretics and whilst they were there, came in Rippington and Hereford; and as they were pleading their cause before the Duke, and explaining their opinion concerning the sacrament, the Duke said, That they were followers of the Devil's Doctrinal and ever after the Duke hated them. He then disputed with them, and so sharply reprimanded them, that he forced them to silence, finding that they had put a trick upon him, as soon as he understood what the conclusions of Wickliff were, which were then read to him, And then he sent them to the Arch-Bishop, commanding them that they should submit to his judgment and then Hereford and Rippington being repulsed by the Duke, went to the Arch-Bishop; and Rippington, October 23, was reconciled again to the Arch-Bishop, and by his letter "as released, and admitted to the scholastic acts in the University, and so was also John Ashton. Of Nicholas Hereford, says Fox, I find no special relation. In the mean time, about the 23d of September the same year, the King sent his mandate to the Arch-Bishop for collecting a subsidy, and to have a convocation of the clergy summoned against the next Parliament, which should begin the 18th day of November. The Arch-Bishop likewise, on the 15th day of October, directed his letters monitory, as the manner is, to Robert Braybroke, Bishop of London, to give the same admonition to all his suffregans, and other of the clergy within his province for the assembling of the convocation aforesaid. The Parliament, which was the Eighth Parliament of Richard II. begun to sit at Oxford, as Mr. Fox says, the 18th day of November; but the History of England says it met at Westminster in the Octaves of St. Michael: But whether the Parliament met at Oxford or no, the convocation was then held in the monastery of St. Frideswide in Oxford. The Arch-Bishop, the Bishops assisting, said Mass, and the Chancellor of the University, Mr. William Rugg, preached upon this text, Congregati sunt in valle bonedictionis; and sermon being ended, they adjourned to the Chapter-House, and the Arch-Bishop, with other Bishops there sitting in their pontificalibus, declared two causes of their meetings: The one, saith he, is to repress heresies which began newly

to spring up in the realm, and to correct other abuses in the Church: The other is to aid and support the King with some necessary subsidy. Which causes of their meeting being thus declared, the convocation was continued 'till the day following, which was the 19th of November. The Arch-Bishop, after the usual solemnity, willed the procurators of the clergy that were chosen for every diocese, to consult by themselves in some convenient place, and to consider what was necessary for redressing of things in the Church, and to notify and declare it to him and his brethren.

Furthermore, said he, for as much as it is noised abroad through all the realm, that there are certain in the University of Oxford that do hold and maintain conclusions that are heretical and erroneous, condemned by him, and by other lawyers and Doctors in Divinity, he therefore did assign the Bishops of Sarum, Hereford, and Rochester. with William Rugg, the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford, as also William Berton and John Middleton, Doctors, giving them full authority to search and to enquire all over the University, for all those that did hold, teach, and maintain and defend, in schools or out of schools, the said conclusions and afterward to certify what they had done in the premises.

And thus far that day; and the assembly broke up for the next day, and so to the next, and so to the third day, being Monday, 24th of November, on which day, in the presence of the prelates and the clergy, in the Chapter-house of St. Frideswide, come in Philip Rippington, and there abjured the conclusions of Wickliff that were condemned, and then he was discharged and he afterwards was made Bishop of Lincoln; and became, as Mr. Fox says, one of the most bitter persecutors of those that inclined to Wickliff's opinion, Arch-Bishop Parker say, that Nicholas Hereford of Queens-College, Mr. Wood says, he was of a more stubborn mind than the rest, and would not with the rest depart from his opinion; but a length he says he submitted, and went to Coventry, and took upon him the habit of a Carthusian monks and spent the remainder of his life in the monastery of St. Anne, without giving any disturbance afterwards. But Mr. Fox says, that Rippington recanted at that time in the morning; and that when John Ashton was examined at that same time concerning the conclusions, he answered, That he was too simple and ignorant, and therefore would not and could not answer anything clearly and distinctly to those conclusions. Whereupon the Arch-Bishop at his desire assigned to him Doctor Rugg the Vice-Chancellor, and other divines, to instruct him in the conclusions against the afternoon; who then appearing again after dinner before the Arch-Bishop and the prelates, did abjure, in the same manner as Rippington had done before. But Mr. Fox says, that he was afterwards cited before Arch-Bishop Arundell and condemned but whether he died in prison or was burned he could not tell. But as for Nicholas Hereford, Mr. Fox says, that during the time of this convocation he did not appear, and therefore had the sentence of excommunication denounced against him; against which he put in his appeal from the Arch-Bishop to the King and council. The Arch-Bishop would not admit of it, but caused him to be apprehended and put in prison; but some time after he escaped out of prison, and then went up and down preaching in a private and secret manner; whereupon the Arch-Bishop sends out his excommunication against him

again, commanding it to be read in all churches and send likewise a letter to the King, desiring, That seeing the said Nicholas Hereford had for his contumacy been excommunicated, and had continued so forty days, that the King, according to the custom of the realm, would issue out his letters for the apprehending of him. Mr.Fox says no more of him. But if Mr.Wood says true, he submitted afterwards, and lived quietly at Coventry.

But all this while, what became of John Wickliff is not certainly known; Mr.Fox thinks that he was in exile; Arch-Bishop Parker says, that he lurked up and down to avoid being taken; but whether he was in the land or not, it is certain he was alive whilst all this was done; for in the year 1382 he sent a letter to Pope Urban. Mr.Lewis, in his Life of Wickliff, says, that he was seized with a fit of palsy in the year 1382 at Lutterworth, but recovered again and continued there preaching to the time of his death. And he did not die 'till the year 1384; for upon St.Thomas's Day that year he was seized with a palsy and died the last day of December, and was buried in his parish-church of Lutterworth in Leicestershire. But one and forty years after, his body was ordered by Pope Martin V. and the Council of Constance to be dug up, and to be burned, which was done accordingly. He was bred up in Merton-College in Oxford, and was famous for his strict Life and Learning. He discovered a great many errors of the Church of Rome, and preached against them as the Doctrine of Transubstantiation and others; but amongst some truths he held a great many errors. He wrote a great many books; some say about two hundred; and Mr.Lewis with great pains has collected them, and given an account of them in his book of the Life of Wickliff, and they do amount to a great number. He reckons up two hundred fifty five, besides a volume of tracts, which are said to be Wickliff's.

And thus did the Arch-Bishop, with a great deal of pains and courage, suppress for the present all those that did profess the Doctrines of Wickliff, and made the chief of them to recant: And although he was very zealous against them, and had them often before him, yet he had always the bishops and the most eminent divines of the land for his assistants, and had a great deal of patience with them; and entered into disputations with them, and gave them a great deal of time to consider before he did pass his censures upon them and although he got an act of parliament to be made for the imprisonment of them, yet Mr.Fox observes, that there was not one put to death for his religion in his time, nor in all that King's reigns but in the next reign, Arch-Bishop Arundell his successor, got an act to be made for the burning of hereticks. Mr.Fox calls the act of parliament that was made for the imprisoning hereticks, a supposed statute, and says, that in the following parliament that was holden at Westminster, in the 6th year of the King's reign, among sundry petitions made to the King, there is one in this form: Item, prayen the commons, that whereas a statute was made in the last parliament in these words, it is ordained in this present parliament, that commissions from the King be directed to the sheriffs, and other ministers of the King, or to other sufficient persons skillful according to the certificate of the prelates thereof to be made unto the chancery from time to time, to arrest all such preachers and their fautors, maintainers, and abettors, and then to detain in strong prison, until they will justify themselves according to reason and law of Holy Church: and the King willeth and commandeth, that the chancellor make such commissions at all times, as he shall be by the prelates or any of them certified, and thereof required, as

is aforesaid: the which was never agreed or granted by the commons: but whatsoever was moved therein was without their assent; that the said statute be therefore disannulled; for it is not in any wise their meaning, that either themselves, or such as shall succeed them, shall be farther justified, or bound by the prelates, than were their ancestors in former times. Whereunto is answered the King is pleased, And notwithstanding, says Mr.Fox, the former law of the 5th of the King was hereby repealed, yet this act of repeal was never published, nor ever since printed with the statutes of that parliament insomuch, that that repeal being concealed, commissions and other processes were made from time to time; by virtue of the said statute, as well during all the reign of this King as afterward,

Mr.Wood says, that this year, 1382, there happened to be a great contention between the University of Oxford and the Prior of St.Frideswide, about the profits of a fair that used to be had yearly; and the Priory made their complaint to the King: and the King sent his orders to the scholars that they should not disturb the Priory; but notwithstanding this, the scholars went on to trouble the Priory: whereupon they made their complaint again to the King, and the King ordered the matter to be referred to William Courtenay, Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, William Wickham, Bishop of Winchester, and others; and they examining the matter gave their judgment in favour of the Priory.

About the year 1383, there arose a difference between the Arch-Bishop and the Earl of Arundel, whose servants had emptied a pond of the Arch-Bishop's, belonging to his manour of South-malling in the Diocese of Chichester, and had stolen away the fish; at which the Arch-Bishop being angry, sent his orders to the Bishop of Chichester to excommunicate those that did it, as sacrilegious persons, and violators of the rights of the Church of Canterbury. But the Earl of Arundel went to the King, and desired that the matter might be heard in his own presence, that they might not incur the punishment of excommunication. The Arch-Bishop, when the King had interposed in the matter, sent to the Bishop of Chichester, and ordered him to recal his excommunications, and to proceed no farther in the business,

In the year 1384, the Arch-Bishop went to Oxford, and on the 13th of November he visited Osney-Abbey: upon the 14th day he visited the Priory of St.Frideswide and Canterbury-College; on the 15th, Merton-College; which colleges, as Mr.Wood says, he visited, as being their local visitor; which I believe, says he, gave occasion to some lawyers to say afterwards, when the Arch-Bishop Arundel had a mind to visit the whole University, that his Arch-Bishop visited the University itself, as well in the head as in the members; but no such thing appears in the register.

In the year 1385, there happened a great difference amongst the fellows of Oriel College in Oxford about the election of a head; some were for John Middleton, Doctor in Divinity, and others for John Kyrton, Master of Arts; and this difference gave great disturbance to the College for several weeks; with which the King being acquainted, he ordered the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Winchester, and some others, to hear and determine in the matter, and they gave it for Doctor Middleton. About this time, says Walsingham, the King came to be very much displeased with the Arch-Bishop, because he spoke to him freely about his ill government of the kingdom; and he was so angry with him, that he ordered his temporalities to be seized: and it had been done, if the Lord Chancellor, Michael de la Pool, had not opposed it, for which the King was

angry with him too; and the King in his anger uttered very opprobrious language against both of them, as also against Sir John Devertux, who spoke in the Arch-Bishop's behalf.

In the year 1386, 10 Richard II. the Arch-Bishop upon the noise of an intended invasion from France, directs his letters to the then commissary of Canterbury, to arm the Clergy of the City and Diocese after these rates and proportions: A benefice exceeding one hundred marks to find a man and two archers; a benefice exceeding forty pounds to find two archers: a benefice of twenty pounds one archer; and for those under twenty loric's, coats of mail and other smaller arms.

In this same year there was a parliament called, about Michaelmas, and the nation being, as was said before, in a great consternation for fear of an invasion from France, at the opening of the parliament, the King, as the occasion required, demanded a present subsidy to pay the army, which he had already got for the defence of the nation, and make such other provisions against the enemy as the state of affairs did require, The parliament was sensible of the danger the kingdom was in, and easily consented to the King's desires; but thought it unreasonable to put any great sums into his power, as long as he was so pliable to the covetous hour of his favourites, who made his revenue but a prey to enrich themselves. For Michael de La Pool, the Chancellor, had, in less than a year's time, by farming the King's customs, and other incomes, and by wasting his treasure, purchased a thousand a-year in land and gathered great sums of money which he kept in bank. He was generally reputed guilty of bribery in his office; and indeed it could not be thought he could grow so suddenly rich, but by the abuse of the King's favours: Therefore the parliament unanimously resolved to have him removed with the rest of his associates, or to give the King no tax. This they signified to him by a petition. The King received the petition very ill; and, that he might avoid an answer to it, removed to Eltham, leaving the Chancellor to press them to grant a tax. The lords and commons seeing the cause of the King's retreat, plainly told the Chancellor, That they would give no answer to his demands, unless the King himself were present, and he removed from his office. The King had soon intelligence of this, and immediately sent up to the parliament, to order that forty of their wisest men should come down to him at Eltham. At length, after consideration had upon the King's message, it was agreed upon by both houses, that the Duke of Gloucester, and Thomas Arundel, Bishop of Ely, should be sent to the King in the name of the whole parliament, and the King was contented to have it so: and the arguments that these wise peers made use of had so good effect upon the King, that he promised them to follow them, and accordingly he came to his Parliament soon after them, and then, without much reluctancy, granted a commission to the Duke of Gloucester, Earl of Arundel, Bishop of Ely, and some others, to survey and examine the state of his house and courts, all his officers and ministers, and particularly to call Michael de la Pool, Earl of Suffolk, to an account about the management of his office. And because the realm had been for some years past badly governed, the administration for all publick affairs was put into the hands of thirteen persons chosen by the parliament, viz. William Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, Alexander Arch-Bishop of York, Edmund Duke of York, Thomas Duke of Gloucester, the King's uncles, etc. And when they were about to be sworn for the due administration of affairs, the Arch-Bishop entered his protestation to this effect; That forasmuch as he, and his predecessors, time out of mind, had the prerogative, that they should

should and ought to be in all the councils and parliaments of the Prince and of the realm, and ought not to be sworn to any besides the Pope, and therefore ought not to be sworn then; yet of his meer goodwill, saving to himself the prerogative, he taketh upon his the oath. The commissioners appointed for examining into the King's ministers and officers, having examined and tried the Lord Chancellor, found him guilty of many high crimes, and did not only deprive him of his place, but confiscated his estate, which was one thousand pounds a-year, and fined him one thousand marks. During this parliament, Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford and Marquess of Dublin, was created Duke of Ireland; and he was, at the petition of the lords and commons, ordered to be sent to Ireland before Easter next.

This parliament being broke up and returned home, the King was left again to his own unsteady resolutions and partial affections, and received all his old favourites into favour again; and the fine which had been imposed upon Michael de la Pool, Earl of Suffolk, he immediately took off. Easter drawing near, at which time the Duke of Ireland was to go to that kingdom, great preparations were made for his departure, as if he had been in earnest; and not long after that feast, he began his journey into Wales in order to his passing thither: The King himself, with the Earl of Suffolk, Lord Chief Justice Tresilian, and some others, accompanying him in state, staid some time with him there. And the King in his return, when he was at Nottingham, set for all the judges to come to him; and soon after their arrival a solemn council was called, Aug. 11. And the King, in the presence of many nobles, demanded of the judges their judgement of the law upon several questions; The first was, Whether the statute and commission made the last parliament were prejudicial to the King's prerogative? They all unanimously answered, yes. The second question was, How those persons ought to be punished, who were either concerned to procure it, or moved the King to consent to it and grant it? They said, With death, unless the King would pardon them. And other questions in all ten, did the King put to them much to the same effect. The resolutions of the judges being given to all the questions, the King required them to subscribe them, and set their seals to them in the presence of the lords and other great persons there assembled. Tresilian and his judges readily complied, but Belknap with his brethren, well knowing the drift of what was done, was not willing to leave any such marks of his opinion behind him, and therefore refused to subscribe them, 'till the Duke of Ireland and Earl of Suffolk forced them to subscribe. The opinions of the Judges being thus known, a jury of Londoners summoned to Nottingham for that purpose, found a bill of indictment against the Duke of Gloucester, Earls of Arundell Warwick, Darby, and Nottingham, of high treason; and upon a full and formal hearing before the judges, they were condemned to death, and their lands being forfeited to the King, were disposed of by him among his favourites: and that the sentence might be fully executed, the King sent into all parts of the nation, to gather an army able to master all opposition they could make against what had been done; which though it met with cold reception from many, yet great multitudes, not knowing the design in hand, readily yielded their assistance, as their duty to their king in their opinion obliged them.

Whilst these things were transacting against the Lords at Nottingham, there happened a very great disturbance in the Church, upon this occasion; one Walter Disse, a Carmelite Fryer, and formerly confessor to the Duke of Lancaster, having obtained of Pope Urban, in favour of his old master, a liberty of conferring the honour and priviledges of the Pope's Chaplains

on such as would purchase them for their money, Peter Patishull, an Augustine Fryer, and a favourer of Wickliff's doctrine, being desirous of liberty and freedom from his monkish confinement, procured himself to be admitted the Pope's Chaplain, and immediately left his monastery, He was a person pious and learned, and spent his time much in preaching after his releaser and in his sermons he spoke much against the monks, and blamed their hypocrisy and wicked actions, as unbecoming their strict profession of religion. The monks shewed great displeasure against him and his sermons, and so frequently disturbed his preaching, that partly through the contests of his hearers and the monks, and partly through fear of them, he was forced to give over publick preaching and by the advice of his friends betake himself to writing, in which he accused the monks of many horrid crimes.

But these books angered the Bishops, being looked upon as the disgrace of the clergy, who thereupon were very zealous to suppress them, and to that end obtained of the King a commission, directed to all sheriffs and Justices, commanding them to search for and seize all heretical books, and suppress Lollardy in the whole kingdom.

But to return to the difference between the King and his nobles the judgment upon the Lords was no sooner given, but the Lords had a full account of all their proceedings and although the Duke of Gloucester was a hot and choleric man, yet the sense of his duty to his Prince taught him a more submissive way of providing for his own defence, than to run presently to his arms wherefore sending for the Bishop of London, he desired him to wait on the King, and to mediate a reconciliation between the King, himself, and the lords, The Bishop did very willingly undertake that good office, and being a person prudent and eloquent, he proved so good an advocate, that the King seemed satisfied with his uncle, and desired a reconciliation but the Earl of Suffolk, who was by, knowing that if it were completed it would prove fatal to him, interposed, and with a virulent charge of popularity and treason laid upon the lords, altered the King's good inclination to peace; and the Bishop was ordered out of his presence. When the Bishop returned with the news of his ill success, the Duke of Gloucester and the condemned peers resolved immediately to raise what force they could, and to stand up in their own defence to expostulate with the King why he fought their death, suffered himself to be governed by traitors? The King and those that were with him thought to prevent any opposition from them by seizing them singly before they could get together and for that purpose the King sends the Earl of Northumberland to apprehend the Earl of Arundel at his Castle of Ryegate; but he found it so well guarded, that he was forced to dissemble the reason of his coming, and let it pass for a visit. This disappointment the King thought to avoid by surprise, and therefore sent a strong force the same night to arrest him; but the Earl suspecting what after happened, had made his escape to the Duke of Gloucester at Harringey Park, near Highgate, and there they joined their forces with the Earls of Warwick, Nottingham, and Derby. The news of the lords being united much disturbed the King and his favourites, wherefore a great council was called to consult what was best to be done: The Duke of Ireland and the other favourites were for violent courses, but the greatest part of the Council agreed to what the Earl of Northumberland proposed, and begged of the King that he would send to them, and require their reasons for assembling with so many people; and they doubted not but they would give the King just satisfactions whereupon the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Ely were sent immediately to the Lords, who were advanced near London,

London, to inform them, that the King had no mind to commence a war with his subjects, but was willing to know the cause of their discontents, that he might relieve them; for which end he desired the Lords to meet him in Westminster-Hall on Sunday next, and exhibit their complaints to him. The lords were not unwilling to meet the king, and they attended upon him; yet with such strong guards, as shewed that they came not to submit or petition, but to demand or capitulate. On the day of their meeting, the King being sat on his throne in his robes, and the nobles present and kneeling before him, the Chancellor, who was the Bishop of Ely, delivered the King's mind to them in a short speech, telling them, That the King hearing of their riotous assembling in Haringey Park, thou he was advised to have repressed them with force, which he could easily have done; yet out of his princely clemency had chosen to put gentler methods first in execution, to avoid the effusion of his subjects blood, if possible; and therefore had sent for them to discourse with theme and know the reasons and causes of their discontents, and why they in so tumultuous a manner had drawn together such a number of people? The lords made answer, That it was not out of any turbulent or ambitious humour that they had taken up arms, but out of an unavoidable necessity of preserving the King's person and realms and securing their own lives from the impending dangers which were falling upon them, by such persons as were enemies to both, and shrowded their ill actions under his favours That the Duke of Ireland, Earl of Suffolk, Archbishop of York, Sir Richard Trefilian, Sir Nicholas Brember, and some others, were those traytors to the King and realm, which they were afraid off and fought to remove. The King having heard them with such calmness, gave them a moderate and rational answer, and treated the Lords with great civility, and the lords were satisfied with the King's behaviour towards them; and after the King had put forth a proclamation of pardon, they looked upon all things in a certain way of settlement in the next parliament

Whilst affairs looked so well in London, the Duke of Ireland had a private commission from the King to gather an army of such as were his friends about Chester, and to come to London. This, though acted with great privacy and at a great distance, was not hid from the Lords and their friends, who therefore contrived to intercept the Duke in his passage, by sending the Earl of Darby with a strong party to lie in those countries through which he was to pass. The Duke of Ireland having gathered a great body of six thousand men, stout and well-armed, marched according to the King's order towards London; but at Redcote-Bridge, near Burford in Oxfordshire, they were met by the Earl of Darby and his men, The battle was very sharp and lasted long, but at last the Earl of Darby got the victory. The Duke saw the beginning of the engagement, but fled away before the victory shewed itself; his horse and baggage were taken, and brought to the Earl of Darby; in his trunk was found a letter sent to him by the King himself, wherein he commands him to hasten to London with all the speed he could, and promises to live and die with him. The Duke of Ireland was supposed to have been drowned, but afterwards he was discovered to have fled into Holland, and from thence into France. This victory proved the overthrow of the Lord's enemies; for the Duke of Ireland never returned, the Earl of Suffolk fled to Calais, the King betook himself to the Tower, and Tresilian and the Arch-Bishop of York, with the rest of the party, withdrew from London, and concealed themselves. The Lords being again united, marched with an army of forty thousand men to London, and mustered in Clerkenwell,

within the prospect of the Tower. The Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, and some others of the peers, desirous to end the quarrel, beseeched the King to condescend to a peaceable composure of affairs; but he made slight of the proposal, and told them That they would soon dissolve of themselves without any treaty; their multitude would in a short time consume all their provisions, and then they must break in pieces of course. The Lords had notice of these words, and being incensed at them, swore, that they would not depart from London (which by this time had opened their gates to them) 'till they had spoken with the King and having given him notice of it, set a strong guard about the Tower, that he might not elude them by a private escape. The King being thus beset, and having no way to avoid a treaty, condescended to have one, and sent the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury to acquaint the Lords with it. They received the news joyfully, and on the morrow met the King in Westminster-Hall. The main thing that the peers insisted upon, and the King, though not very freely, agreed to, was, That several traitorous and wicked persons should, for the honour of the King's person and good of the realm, be removed from Court; and accordingly Alexander Arch-Bishop of York, John Bishop of Durham, and some others, were strictly forbidden to come into the King's palace or presence others, whose crimes were greater were imprisoned to be tried in next parliament. The time drawing near when the parliament was to meet, by the unanimous agreement of the King and Lords, the King, who knew very well that it would prove fatal to his friends, fought all means to prorogue it, but not daring to stand upon his prerogative at this time, permitted them to meet, February 3. The commons resorted to it with great diligence, because of the general expectation there was of a compleat reformation of all disorders this session which it so well effected, that it was thought to deserve the name of the wonder-working parliament. After the usual forms of opening the parliament were over, they entered upon action, and the first day of there meeting arrested all the judges that were sitting in Westminster-Hall upon the bench, except Tresilian, who had concealed himself in disguise, and sent them to the Tower. Their crime was, That in the last parliament they overruled the actions and determinations of the Lords with their advice and directions, and had assured them that all was done according to law; but afterwards had given the King a contrary judgement at Nottingham, and had delivered it as their opinion, that the actions of the said parliament were illegal and traitorous. The Judges had nothing to plead in excuse of this base action, but their fears of the Duke of Ireland, who threatened their ruin, unless they made such answers to the questions as he expected and desired, and therefore left themselves to the judgement of the parliament who considering that the whole matter was managed by Tresilian, and that the rest of the Judges were surprized and forced to give their sentence, laid the milder punishment upon them, and only confiscated their goods, and banished them for their lives: So it is said in the History of England. But in the Parliament-Rolls it is said, that all that were in custody were condemned by the Lords temporal, with the assent of the King, to be drawn and hanged as traytors; but the bishops, just as sentence had passed, came in and interceded for their lives, which the King granted them; but their estates were seized, and their persons imprisoned. The next thing that they entered upon was to proceed against Robert Vere, Duke of Ireland, Alexander Nevill, Arch-Bishop of York, Michael de la Pool, Earl of Suffolk, Sir Robert Tresilian, Lord Chief Justice of England, and Nicholas Bramber, sometime Lord Mayor of

London, who being fled from justice, were summoned only, and not appearing, were sentenced to perpetual banishment, and their estates confiscated. Not long after Sir Robert Tresilian was discovered by one of his own servants, and seized upon in a disguise at an apothecary's in Westminster, where he lay to observe the transactions of Parliament.

He was carried first to the Duke of Gloucester, who secured him in the Tower; and in the afternoon he was brought before the parliament by whom he was sentenced to be drawn to Tyburn and hanged, which judgement was immediately executed upon him; and having taken Sir Nicholas Bramber, they condemned him likewise to the same punishment. Sir John Salisbury, Sir James Barnish, John Beauchamp, John Blake, and Thomas Uske, were all drawn and hanged for the same crimes. With these men the parliament hoped the disorders of the nation would be removed; and the Arch-Bishop in parliament should ratify their resolutions of doing their duty to each other by oath: whereupon the King promised to stand by the Lords in governing the realm, and took his coronation oath again; and both houses swore homage and fealty to the King.

The Arch-Bishop of Canterbury at the beginning of this parliament, as usual, called a convocation, and at the opening of it he preached himself; and he took for his text, *Super muros Jerusalem constitute custodes, I have set watchmen upon thy walls, O Jerusalem!*

Isaiah lxii.6. and he obtained in that convocation that a tenth might be granted to the King, and whereas in that parliament several noblemen and others were accused of promoting a difference between the King and the peers, and of treason, and some were condemned and put to death, as was said before, the Arch-Bishop and his suffragans, who by the canon law could not be present in any court where the life of a man is concerned went out of the House of Lords, and before they went entered their protestation In which, the Arch-Bishop for himself, his brethren the bishops, the abbots and other prelates that were peers of the realm, and had right to sit in parliament, protests That whereas there were some things treated of in that parliament, at which the clergy by the canons of the church could not be present, and therefore they did absent themselves; that this absence of theirs from the parliament should in no wise prejudice their right, neither did they design by it to render that which should be done at that time in parliament less valid. This remarkable protestation has often since been made use of by several authors in treating of the question, whether the Lords spiritual shall vote in cases of treason?

For which see Cotton's Abridgment, fol.322. 2 Institut,586. 4 Institut.45. Selden's Titles of Honour, p.582. and the late treatises written upon the reviving the question, in the case of Thomas Earl of Danby, in the time of King Charles II.

The parliament was again summoned to meet in September, and accordingly assembled at Cambridge, as our historians unanimously agree: but our statute book says, at Canterbury, on the morrow after the nativity of the Virgin Mary, September 9. The parliament was holden in the monastery of the Carmelites, and at the same time a convocation was held in the Church of St.Mary. And there was a tenth granted to the King upon this condition, if the King before the Calends of October next did with his army go against the French. In the parliament there was a law made, that no one, without the King's leave, should procure a benefice to be conferred upon him by the Pope, under the title of the Pope's provision, as it was called; and if any one did, he should be put out of the King's

protection. In this parliament the laity granted the King a subsidy, upon condition, that the clergy should grant the King a tenth; upon which the Arch-Bishop with his suffrogans did say, that it was very unreasonable and of very bad consequence for the clergy, In their gifts to the King, which ought to be voluntary, to be tied up by the laity; and therefore they would not treat about granting any thing before that condition was struck out of the bill.

The King, who was present at that time in parliament, ordered that condition to be struck out of the bill, which was publickly done in parliament. Harpsfield says, that the parliament in which this was done was holden at London, and that the commons were angry with the Arch-Bishop and the rest of the clergy for having the condition struck out; and they said, that the clergy were, by reason of their great riches, grown proud and insolent. And they did talk of taking away some of the revenues of the clergy by act of parliament and thereupon some, as Walsingham says, who lived in that time, did flatter themselves that they should have a good share. But they were all disappointed, for the King, as was said before, ordered the condition to be struck out, and declared he would leave the revenues of the clergy preserved safe and entire. And when the Arch-Bishop, in the name of the clergy, gave the King thanks for it, and presented him with a tenth, which the clergy had freely granted to his, the King received it very kindly, and said, That that subsidy, proceeding from a willing mind in the clergy, did please him more, than four times as much that should have been drawn from them unwillingly. In that parliament, says Harpsfield, it was moved, that the King might have the first fruits of those livings that he was the patron of, but it was not granted.

In the year 1389, 13 Richard II. the King called his council together As soon as they were all seated, and the King himself at the head of them, he demanded of them, What age they supposed him to be of now? They answered, that they thought him to be somewhat above one and twenty. The King then replied, That it was unreasonable that he should be denied what his meanest subjects enjoyed, who at that age came into management and full possession of their birthrights, and were no longer under guardians and tutors and therefore he challenged the government of his kingdoms out of their hands. The lords, of which the Arch-Bishop was one, though fearing the ill consequences of his rule, did not deny what he required, but readily yielded up their power entirely to him.

The King having taken the government of the realm into his own hands, the Arch-Bishop was more at leisure to mind the affairs of the church, and therefore this year he designed to make his metropolitical visitation all over his province and that he might do it with greater authority he obtained from Pope Urban, that he might do it without any hindrance from the court of Rome and then he visited the Diocese of Rochester, Chichester Bath and Wells, as also Worcester, no one opposing or contradicting of him. At Exeter he found some resistance. The Bishop of Exeter at that time was Thomas Brentingham: he was a man very well learned, and expert in civil, as well as in ecclesiastical matters; and, for that reason, in 10 Richard II. he was chosen by the parliament to be one of those that had the administration of affairs under the King. And this Bishop might be encouraged to oppose the Arch-Bishop in his visitation from the example of his predecessor Bishop Grandison; for he would not submit to the visitation of Simon Mepham, Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, but appealed to Rome, and not suffer him so much as to enter into his cathedral-church, much less to visit in the same,

Arch-Bishop Courtenay, after time of his first inhibition, prorogued divers times the day of his visitation, and when he had sat, was not so hasty in granting a relaxation of the inhibition as they expected. Hereby it came to pass, that the Bishop and his arch-deacons were suspended from their jurisdiction longer than they ought to be, and not willing to wait the Arch-Bishop's pleasure any longer, rushed into their jurisdictions again, before his visitation was finished and commanded all men upon pain of excommunication to repair unto them their wanted ordinaries, for probate of wills, administrations, institutions, or upon any other such like Occasions. This commandment, published in many places of the diocese, the Arch-Bishop pronounced to be void, and required all men, in these and the like cases, to repair unto him, and none other. Hereupon the Bishop appealed to Rome, and affixed his appeal to the doors of the cathedral-church of Exeter. The appeal the Arch-Bishop rejected, and goes on in his Visitation, and cites the Bishop, by various orders, to answer to certain articles to be proposed to him in the visitation. The Arch-Bishop's apparators Peter Hill, having with him the Arch-Bishop's citation, by which he was to cite the Bishop, some of the Bishop's officers met him at Topsham, and did beat him, and forced him to eat the citation, parchment, wax, and all; at which action the King being much displeased, sent to Edward Earl of Devonshire; and to others, that they should find them out, and apprehend them, that they might suffer such punishment as the Arch-Bishop should think fit. And the Arch-Bishop enjoined them this Penance, viz. That in the Church of Canterbury, St. Paul's in Landong and in the cathedral-church of Exeter, they should upon three holy-days named, being in their shirts only, in a procession going before the cross, carry wax-tapers burning in their hands; and then that they should give to the priest a salary to say mass every day at the tomb of the Earl of Devonshire; and lastly, every one of them was enjoined to pay a sum of money for repairing of the walls of the City of Exeter. And of this they were to certify to the Arch-Bishop, by the certificates of the three deans; the Dean of Canterbury, the Dean of St. Paul's, and the Dean of Exeter, signed with their own seals, And the Arch-Bishop removed from his place and degree one William Byd, Doctor of Laws, and advocate in the Court of Arches, because he had given counsel to the Bishop of Exeter against the authority of the See of Canterbury: and then he caused an oath to be framed, which was taken by every one that was admitted afterwards to be an advocate in that court.

The Bishop of Exeter in the mean time with all diligence prosecuted the appeal that he had made to the Pope; but when he found that he had not only the weaker side, but that his cause was made worse, because the King stuck by the Arch-Bishop, letting fall his appeal, he submitted to the Arch-Bishop; and acknowledging his fault, and the authority,, jurisdiction, and prerogative of the Arch-Bishop, he obtained pardon for his rashness and contumacy, to which he confessed he was led, more by the advice of others, than his own judgment.

The Bishop of Salisbury, when he was visited, took the same courage to oppose the Arch-Bishop. The Bishop of Salisbury's name was John Waltham: he was master of the rolls, and keeper of the privy-seal, and was, in the year 1391, made Treasurer of England, and was entirely beloved by King Richard II. This Bishop, as he thought, went more cautiously to work than the Bishop of Exeter; for whereas he thought that the Arch-Bishop made his metropolitical visitation, because he was supported by the authority of Pope Urban, that Pope being dead, he obtained from

Pope Boniface, his successor, the privilege for himself and those of his diocese, that they should not be visited by the authority of the letters of Pope Urban, thinking that the archiepiscopal and metropolitan authority without the help of the Pope, did signify nothing. But the Arch-Bishops being more skilled in the law, and by use and experience more certain in business and having more favour in the Court of Rome, when the Bishop of Salisbury came to him at his Manour of Croydon with his privilege from the Pope, by which he thought he was exempt from archiepiscopal visitation he kept him there for some time in discourse, and in the mean time he issued out his process, and got it to be recorded before a publick notary, in which he declared he visited the Diocese of Salisbury by his metropolitan power: and then by his mandate he publickly admonished the Bishop of Salisbury to submit to his metropolitan visitation (not mentioning one word of the leave given him by Pope Urban) in the Church of Salisbury, upon a prefixed day. Upon the day appointed, the Bishop of Salisbury being, as he imprudently thought, secure by his empty privilege, was absent, and did often appeal from the Arch-Bishop's visitation that was then begun, as a grievance brought upon him, and those of his Diocese. The Arch-Bishop did not bear this contumacy with the same moderation as he did that of the Bishop of Exeter, but immediately excommunicate him, and then accused him of contempt and perjury, because he had gone off from that subjection, which in his consecration he had promised upon oath to the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury; by obtaining privileges, and by appealing.

The Bishop of Salisbury being frightened by this severity, and by the fresh example of the Bishop of Exeter, and seeing he was like to be worsted withdrew his appeal; and having got the Earl of Salisbury and others to intercede for him, submitted himself to the Bishop, and was received into favour, and then he quietly submitted to the Arch-Bishop's visitation.

And Bishop Godwin says, that since that time our Arch-Bishops have visited quietly all dioceses of their province without resistance. Mr. Wood says, in his visiting the Diocese of Lincoln, he came to Oxford, in order to visit the University, and especially the Black Monks of Gloucester College; but when he found it was like to create him a great deal of trouble, he left it undone. But Arch-Bishop Parker says, that it was at the intercession of the Abbot of St. Albans, that he desisted from that visitation.

When the Arch-Bishop came to the Town of Leicester, in the County, where Wickliff was parson, there were certain persons accused and detected to him of heresy, by the monks and other priests of the said town. They were accused of holding opinions of the Sacrament of the Altar, of auricular confession, and of other doctrines; contrary to what the Church of Rome does teach; whereupon the Arch-Bishop admonished them, on the next day; to make answer to him in the monastery concerning the aforesaid articles, but they hid themselves out of the way, and appeared not on which the Arch-Bishop celebrating the High Mass at the High Altar in the said monastery, being attired in his pontificalibus, denounced the said parties; with all their adherents, excommunicated and accursed and that in a solemn manner by ringing of bells, lighting of candles, and then putting them out again, and throwing them down to the grounds with other circumstances thereto belonging.

And the next day, being All-Saints, he sent for the Curates and some laymen of the town, to enquire of them, whether they knew any others that were suspected of holding the like opinions? And he ordered the aforesaid persons to be denounced excommunicated in divers parishes in Leicester: And also he interdicted the whole town

Town of Leicester, and all the churches in the same, as long as any of the excommunicated persons should remain in the same, and until all the Lollards in the town should return from their errors, and be absolved by the Arch-Bishop. The Arch-Bishop was informed, that there was a certain anchoress, named Matilda, that lived in the church-yard of St. Peter's in Leicester, that was infected with heresy; whereupon, after the Arch-Bishop had examined the said Matilda, and had found her not to answer plainly and directly to the questions asked, he assigned her a day peremptorily to appear before him in the Monastery of St. James in Northampton, the 6th day of November, and ordered the Abbot of the Monastery of Pratis to keep her in safe custody. And in the mean time he sends out his orders to the Mayor and bailiffs of Leicester, to apprehend the aforesaid excommunicate persons, in this form; William, by the permission of GOD, etc. To his well-beloved sons the Mayor and Bailiffs of the Town of Leicester, Greeting. We have lately received the King's letters graciously granted us for the defence of the catholick faith, in these words following; Richard by the Grace of GOD, King of England and of France, etc.

We, on the behalf of our Holy Mother the church, by the King's authority aforesaid, do require you, that you cause Richard Dexter, and the rest, to be sent unto us, that they with their pernicious doctrine do not infect the people of GOD, etc. Given under our seal, etc.

By another instrument in the Arch-Bishop's register is mention made of one Margaret Caily, Nun, who forsaking her order was by the Arch-Bishop constrained again to enter the same. It appears by the register, that the aforesaid Matilda, upon the strict examination of the Arch-Bishop, recanted her opinions, and was enjoined forty days penance, and was admitted into her recluse again; and some of those that were excommunicated, if not all, recanted their opinions, and were ordered penance, upon the performance of which they were absolved and Mr. Fox does give a particular account in what manner they did penance.

In the year 1390, 13 Richard II. William Courtenay, Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, and Thomas Arundell Arch-Bishop of York, did for themselves, and for their whole clergy of their provinces, make their solemn protestations in open parliament, that they in no wise meant to assent to any law made in restraint of the Pope's authority, but utterly withstood the same, willing this protestation of theirs to be enrolled.

In this year also, certain tenants of the Arch-Bishop, whose names are mentioned by Mr. Fox, and taken by him out of the Arch-Bishop's register, were warned by the bailiff to bring straws hay, and other litter to the Palace of Canterbury, against the Arch-Bishop's coming thither on Palm-Sunday Eve, as they were bound to do, by the tenure of their lands which they held of the See of Canterbury: but they refusing, and disdaining to do their service as they ought and were used to do brought their straw and hay, not in carts and waggons, but in bags or sacks, in contempt of their lord, and in great neglect of that service which they owed by their tenure; whereupon they were cited to appear before the Arch-Bishop at his Manour of Statewood; and having nothing to plead in excuses they submitted themselves to his lordship's pleasure, and humbly craved pardon for their trespass and then the Arch-Bishop absolved them, after that they had sworn to obey the laws and ordinances of the Holy Church, and to do the punishment that should be appointed them for their deserts; and the Arch-Bishop enjoined them, that they going leisurely before the procession, every one of them, should carry openly on his shoulder his bag stuffed with hay and straw, so that the hay and straw

should appear hanging out of their sacks being open, Mr.Fox does not only relate this story, but has put a picture of this procession in his book; and says he drew it in all proportion, exactly as it is in the Arch-Bishop's register. He takes occasion to tell this story, when he was speaking of Arch-Bishop Arundel, our Arch-Bishop's successor. He had said before, that Arch-Bishop Arundel ordered some churches in London to be suspended because their bells were not rung when he went through the city with the cross carried before him: And he says, that Arch-Bishop Chichley threatened to punish the Abbot of St.Albans, because he did not order the Bells to be rung, and did not go out in procession to meet him when he came to the town; and he tells the like story of the Bishop of Worcester, that he was at variance with the Prior and of convent of Worcester, because they did not ring when he came to his church of Worcester, and the difference was made up by the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury. And when Mr.Fox had told these stories, then he gives us the above one of Arch-Bishop Courtenay; and all these he relates on purpose to shew the pride and haughtiness of the prelates in those days. But if Arch-Bishop Courtenay could punish his tenants, and make them to amend their fault by thus exposing of them to shame, I think it is a better way than to punish them in their purses, seeing it was the custom then for the Bishops to punish those that were under their power with ecclesiastical censures for all manner of faults.

In the year 1391, the King, by the advice of his council, put out a proclamation, pursuant to the statute of provisors made the last parliament whereupon the Pope in anger sends his nuncio over to the King, requiring him to abolish and repeal the said statute and proclamation, so far as they tended to the derogation of the churches liberties otherwise declaring, That he thought himself in conscience obliged to proceed against all such persons, as had been instrumental in making those laws, according to the severity of the canons. The King seemed to give a favourable ear to the Nuncio's words, and, having communicated them to his council, appointed him to state 'till the parliament met, which should be about Michaelmass, and then he should receive a full answer to all his demands. The parliament, according to the King's promise to the Pope's nuncio, met the day after the Feast of All-Souls at Westminster; and in that parliament there was an act made about appropriations. It seems, that before this parliament, it was lawful to appropriate the whole fruits and profits of any benefice to a religious house, upon condition that the abbot or prior took care to have the cure tolerably supplied by his monks, or fryers of his house; This bred many inconveniences in that hospitality was neglected, the churches and rectories dilapidated; and ministers were often wanting; whereupon the commons complained, and procured this act; That in every licence to be made hereafter in chancery for the appropriation of any church, the Bishop of the Diocese shall have power to reserve a convenient sum of money out of the fruits and profits of it to sustain the poor parishioners of the said church; and to endow a perpetual vicar sufficiently to supply the cure of souls constantly. This act was the original of most of our vicarages, which, though they are a contemptible maintenance for our clergy, especially since the obventions of the altar are removed, yet have proved a very great support to the church; so that the nation had great reason to applaud this act, because our governors have been so negligent in providing a better; for, had we not had this, it is to be feared the church would have had no provision at all, in many places where vicarages now are so says the History of England.

The Pope's complaint against the statute of provisoers was preferred to the Lords and Commons, and the King and the Duke of Lancaster laboured all that they could to have it repealed; but by all their interest and intercession could not obtain it, the provisions of the Pope being accounted an intolerable grievance to the nation; yet, by much importunity, it was allowed, that the King by his proclamation should have power to dispense with the execution of the statute 'till next parliament.

Mr. Johnson, in his Collection of Canons, says, that William Courtenay was a very active Arch-Bishop, and that he employed his care and zeal chiefly against the Lollards and Wickliffites yet he found time to reinforce, by the authority of a convocation the fifth constitution of Robert Winchelsey concerning stipendiary priests. We have his letter to the Bishop of London, by which he requires him to put it in execution himself, and to send it to the other Bishops of the Province to do the like; This letter bears date from Croydon, Anno 1391. But the constitution was renewed in a convocation holden at London: And Sir Henry Spelman says, that Arch-Bishop Courtenay enjoined the Bishop of London to publish in the usual form, his mandate against some vile clergymen, commonly called Choppe churches. There was, I suppose, saith Sir Henry, no occasion to make any new constitution in convocation against these offenders; for there were canons and laws enough already in force against them; therefore he sends his mandatory letter for putting the Bishops in mind of their duty, and requires them to execute their powers against these foul practices and we have Robert Braybrooke, Bishop of London's, certificatory, in answer to the Arch-Bishop, containing a copy of his mandate; and in that he enjoins the Bishops to take effectual care, that nonresidents in their dioceses be called home to their duty, and simoniacal possessors, or rather usurpers, be severely censured and that the accursed partakers with Behazi and Simon, the Choppe Churches, who chiefly are in London, be in general admonished to desist from such procurings, changings, and trickings, made in their conventicles and simoniacal assemblies for the future, etc. This Arch-Bishop, saith Mr. Johnson, did likewise make some regulations for the court of arches, and enjoined the Feast of St. Anne, the supposed mother of the Virgin Mary, to be observed throughout the Province, as he was ordered by a bull of Pope Urban VI, He received another bull from the same Pope, for observing the vigil of the nativity of the Blessed Virgin.

In the year 1392, 15 Richard II. William Courteney, Arch-Bishop of Canterbury made this brave protestation in the open parliament, saying; That the Pope ought not to excommunicate any Bishop, or to intermeddle for, or touching, any preferment to any ecclesiastical dignity recorded in the King's courts, He further protested, That the Pope ought to make no translation to any bishoprick within the realm against the King's will; for that the same was to the destruction of the realm and crown of England, which hath always been so free, as the same hath had no earthly sovereign, but hath been subject to G O D only, in all things touching regalities, and to none other. The which protestation he prayed might be entered. And upon this, in that parliament, was the statute called the statute of Praemunire made by, and in which it was enacted, That whereas the Bishop of Rome, under a pretence of an absolute supremacy over the Church, took upon him to despoise, by his mandates, of most of the bishopricks, abbacies, and other ecclesiastical benefices of worth in England; and if the bishops did, upon the legal presentments of the patrons of such benefices, institute any clerks to them, they were thereupon excommunicated

by the Pope, to the great damage and unjust wrong of the King's good subjects. And whereas the Bishop of Rome took upon him to translate and remove the said bishops, either out of the realm, or from one see to another within the realm, without the knowledge of the King, or consent of the bishops themselves if any person shall purchase, or cause to be purchased, in the Court of Rome any such translations, sentences of excommunication, bulls, or other instruments, to the detriment of the King and his realm; both they, and such as bring, receive, notifie, or put them in execution, shall be put out of the King's protection, and their lands and tenements, goods and chattles, forfeited to the King, and their bodies attached, if they can be found, process being made out against them, by the writ called praemunire facias, as is ordained in other former statutes for provisoes.

In the year 1394, King Richard II. went over into Ireland, and landed at Waterford the beginning of October: and about the Feast of Epiphany after, the Duke of York, the King's uncle, who was Lord Ward of England, called a parliament by the King's order, to provide him farther supplies to carry on his expedition. And while it sate, the followers of Wickliff, then called Lollards, preferred several conclusions to the parliament, in opposition to the orders and tenets in the church. The positions were in number twelvel and they were at the same time affixed to St. Paul's church-doors. Whereupon Thomas Arundel, Arch-bishop of York, and Robert Braybrook, Bishop of London, sent, as was supposed, by William Courtenay, Arch-bishop of Canterbury, and the clergy, made a voyage into Ireland to the King, to complain of the insolence and prevaloncy of the hereticks, and to beseech him to engage his power for the defence of the church. The King, who was always zealous for the religion he was trained up in, gave much attention to the Bishop's importunities, and promising his protection, composed his affairs in Ireland as fast as he could, and returned about Easter into England. Soon after his arrival, he began to look into the grounds of the Bishops complaints against the Lollardsi and finding that some of his own servants and officers, viz. Sir Richard Story, Sir Lewis Clifford, Sir Thomas Latimer, and Sir John Montecute, had been most forward to encourage and uphold theme he called them severally before him, and made them swears that they would not from thenceforward hold or maintain such erroneous opinionsladding himself, that if they were found again to do it, they should certainly die for it. Having thus laid a restraint and check upon the chief abettors of the hereticks, he proceeded to suppress theme by giving the Bishops a charge to execute their offices diligently in their dioceses, according to the canon; to correct all offenders and search out and examine all English books; root out all erroneous teachers and doctrines with all their endeavours, and to bring all the people into the unity of the catholick faith. He sent out likewise a commission to every shire of the kingdom, appointing certain persons zealous for the church to be searchers out of the Lollards, their favourers and books; charging them to use their utisost diligence and care to find theme and when they have apprehended any, to commit them to the next goal, 'till he should give farther orders concerning them.

The English History says, that the Arch-bishop immediately upon this began a metropolitan visitation but Mr. Fox and other historians do say, that this visitation was in the year in which we do put it.

The Arch-bishop, the year before he died, obtained of the Pope a licence to gather fourpence in the pound from all ecclesiastical preferments

within his provinceland a great many did collect and pay it: But the Bishop of Lincoln refused to make this collection in his diocese, and appealed unto the Pope; and whilst the appeal was depending the Arch-bishop died, July 31, 1396, at Maidstone, when he had sat at Canterbury twelve years lacking one month. His epitaph does say he died in the year 1395; which epitaph is take from Weaver's Monuments, who, as Mr. Wharton says, is often mistaken in transcribing of epitaphs, especially in the figures and numeral letters! but all Historians do agree it was in the year 1396.

The Arch-bishop in his visitation did often preach himself, sometimes in English, and sometimes in Latin; and at the opening of a convocation he would commonly preach; and he would do it, as Harpsfield says, with great eloquence. There were many convocations in his time; for there were above twenty parliaments whilst he was Arch-Bishop, and a convocation was called with every parliament, and at other times there were synods besides. In one of his sermons the Arch-Bishop took for his text, *Maiaor vestrum erit minister* but he that is greatest amongst you shall be your servant, At another time, *Viri pastores sumus servi ttti*; thy servants are shepherds. At another time, *Illud viriliter agite*, & confortetur cor vestrum; be of good courage, and let us play the men. At another time, *Sacerdotes praecedunt arcam*, the priests go before the ark; and at other times other texts of scripture,

Pope Urban sent his a bull, in which he gave him very large priviledges: by it he gave him power to visit his province within two years, without observing the laws and customs of the church in that case, and to begin his visitation when and where he pleased: he gave him likewise power of appointing notaries; of bestowing the benefices that did lapse to the apostolick seel of giving a faculty to twelve persons of holding many benefices he gave him likewise a power of disposing one prebend in every cathedral-church, and of making doctors! and other priyledges by his bull did the Pope give unto him. He called the convocation, sometimes at the king's commands and sometimes a synod at his own pleasure; and there was hardly a synod, or convocation called, in which the clergy did not give money to the King, to assist him against the French and the Scots: sometimes they gave it without any condition at all! sometimes with this condition, if the King did go upon his expedition or, if peace were not made by a prefixed day, Sometimes the money was hard to be obtained of the clergy; and they complained that they were taxed more heavy, and more often, than usual, and sometimes when there was no great occasion for it; and that the money that was given was converted to other uses than what it was given for.

It was said before, that the King was very angry once with the Arch-Bishop; and Walsingham says, it was for a light cause. Harpsfield says, it was because the Arch-Bishop spoke to him freely of the ill management of affairs; and he says likewise, that what follows might be partly the cause of it. There were two synods or convocations in one year! the one at Salisbury, in which was granted to the King a half tenth, to be paid the beginning of November: another was held at London in December, in which a whole tenth was given to the King; the first payment of which was to be made upon the fifteenth day after Easter, the second the fifteenth day after the Feast of St. John Baptist: but as for the second part, it was particularly provided, that the grant of that should be voids unless the King went in person with his army, In the mean time, the King sends letters to the Arch-bishop, in which he commands him

to convene the clergy at London, in the middle of Lent next coming, there to treat with them concerning a subsidy to be granted to the King. The Arch-Bishop by his letters puts the King in mind, with the greatest submission, how much money had been given by the clergy already, and that the day for the payment of what was already given was not yet come; that the first payment was indeed almost made, and that the second should be paid at the time appointed, if the condition was performed. He desires that the King would not expect it before the day, and that he would not too much squeeze the clergy; and he made use of other arguments to dissuade the King from his purpose; and he writes likewise to the Chancellor, and to the Treasurer, desiring them to intercede with the King, that the clergy might not so soon be called together again, and that they might not be pressed with new taxes. And he communicated the matter by letters to the bishops; and he was resolved not to call the clergy together at that time, whatever danger he should incur by it. Nevertheless the clergy were called to London, but the Arch-Bishop was not present, though he gave orders to the Bishops of London and Winchester to supply his place; but things ended so, that there was no money granted to the King. Then there come other letters from the King, dated the 24th of June, in which he commands, that the last payment of the money that was given be presently made. Whereupon the Arch-Bishop, seeing the King had not performed his condition, neither was like to do it by the day appointed, was brought into great straits and trouble of mind; and he consults with the Bishop of London and other bishops what was best to be done; and that money, says Marpsfield; for what I can perceive was never paid to the King; and for this reason, I think, says he, the King was angry with the Arch-Bishop; but he was in a little time restored to the King's favor again.

The Arch-Bishop, says Herpsfield, was a great and high spirit, and stood up in the defence of the liberties and privileges of his see of Canterbury, and of the whole Church of England; and being an active Arch-Bishop, he had a great hand in the affairs of state too, and did all that lay in his power to keep peace between the King and his noblest; and when they were at variance he would take part with neither, but would endeavour to reconcile them; and, if he had lived longer, might have been an instrument in preventing the misery that did not long after his death come upon the King; for he would tell the King freely of his faults: but at last the King was grown impatient of advice, and so extravagant in consuming his revenues, and so lavish in bestowing of them upon his favourites, that he brought himself into great straits, which put him upon seizing the Duke of Lancaster's estate; whereupon the Duke of Hereford, the Duke of Lancaster's son; landed with some forces, and being joined with other nobles, they got the King into their hands, dethroned him, and afterwards put him to death: and the Arch-Bishop was happy in this, that he did not live to see the misery that befel the King.

The Arch-bishop, although the Pope's power was great at that time, and he was sworn to defend the right of the Papal See, yet did stoutly stand up for the regalities of the crown, and the power the King had by custom, and the laws of the land, in church matters; witness that famous protestation that he made against the Pope's usurping upon the King's prerogative. He had these two great and wise men, Robert Braybrooke, Bishop of London, and William Wickham, Bishop of Winchester, for his great friends and counsellors, with whom he did advise upon all weighty matters; the latter, William of Wickham, is, and ever will be, renowned for

building two famous and stately colleges, and endowing them with large revenues: and it is remarkable of the former, Robert Braybrooke, that his body when it was taken out of the ruins of St. Paul's Church, after the great fire in London, 1666, was found to be whole and entire in a marvellous manner, notwithstanding the great length of time it had lain in the Earth, (for he died in the year 1404) and was exposed to view, and was seen by multitudes and by myself, saith Mr. Rowe, in his additions to Sir Peter Ball's Book of the Family of Courtenay, in manuscript,

The old work at Maidstone, first built by Boniface, the Arch-Bishop's predecessor, for an hospital he pulled down, and building it after a more stately manner, he turned it into a college of secular priests, which, at the time of the suppression was valued 139 l. 7 s. 6 d per annum. The Church of Mepham, almost fallen down, he repaired, and built certain alms-houses near it for the use of poor people. He obtained a licence from Richard II. in the 9th year of his reign, to appropriate the Church of Mepham to the Monks of Christchurch, Canterbury. He likewise obtained of Richard II, four fairs for that church, at the four principal feasts of peregrination in the year, viz, one on Innocents-day, on Whitsun-eve another, on the Eve of Becket's translation a third, and the fourth and last on Michaelmas-eve, to be held for nine days following every one of them, and to be kept within the site of the priory. Towards the repairing of the body of his church at Canterbury and cloisters he gave one thousand marks. He gave also unto the same church a certain image of silver representing the Holy Trinity and six of the Apostles, weighing one hundred and sixty pounds; and thirteen copes of great value, besides a considerable number of books. He bestowed likewise abundance of money in repairing and adorning the buildings belonging to his seats, especially the Castle of Saltwood; for all which liberalities there was an anniversary appointed to be celebrated for him by two monks, as there had been for Simon Islip his predecessor before. He lyeth buried upon the south side of Thomas-a-Becket's shrine, at the feet of the Black Prince, in a fair tomb of alabaster.

He lying at the point of, in the inner chamber of his palace at Maidstone, did will and appoint, (because he did not think himself worthy, as he said, to be buried in his metropolitan church, or in any cathedral or collegiate-church) that he would be buried in the church-yard of the collegiate-church of Maidstone, in a place that he acquainted his esquire, John Botlere, with. But notwithstanding this, he was buried in the cathedral-church of Canterbury, the 4th day of August, by the command of the King, being then at Canterbury, the King and many nobles being present at the funeral. In a will that he made some time before, he ordered his body to be buried in the cathedral-church of Exon; and in that will he gave several things to St. Martin's Church in Exminster, where he said he was born. The books that he gave to the Church of Canterbury were, amongst otherst the Melleloquium of St. Augustine; one dictionary in 3 volumes; Dr. de Lire, in 2 Volumes; which books were by his will to be in Mr. Richard Courtenay's custody, as long as he lived, and then after his death they were to be restored to the church of Canterbury; for the performance of which he was to give a bond of 300 l. which he did. And the Arch-Bishop in his will did likewise give to Mr. Richard Courtenay (who was his nephew, and whom in his will he calls his son and pupil) the sum of one hundred marks, and many books, in case he should be a clergyman; and his best mitre, in case he should be a bishop;

and he answered the desire and hopes of the Arch-Bishop, for he was afterwards Bishop of Norwich. When the Arch-Bishop died, he was in debt to the see of Rome the sum of 2669 florins, which money his successor Thomas Arundel paid, and had it again from Arch-Bishop Courtenay's executors.

The Arch-Bishop's desiring to be buried at Maidstone, and the King's commanding him to be buried at Canterbury, have given occasion to Weaver and others to mistake the place of his burial: Weaver, in his Funeral Monuments, says, "It was the custom of old, and so it is now, for men of eminent rank and quality to have tombes erected in more places than one; for example, I find (says he) here in this Church of Canterbury a monument of alabaster at the feet of the Black Prince, wherein, both by tradition and writing, it is affirmed, that the bones of William Courtenay, the son of Hugh Courtenay, second Earl of Devonshire of that name, Arch-Bishop of this see, lies intombed: and I find another, (says he) to the memory of the same man at Maidstone in Kent, wherein, because of his epitaph, I rather believe that his body lieth buried." And he saith again, "He lieth buried (speaking of this Arch-Bishop) according to his will here, (that is, in Maidstone) in his own church, under a plain gravestone a lowly tombe for such an high-born prelate; upon which his portraiture is delineated, and this following epitaph inlaid in brass about the Verge;

Nomine Willelmus en Courtenaius Reverendus,
Qui se post obitum legaver at hic tumulandum,
In presenti loco quem jam sundarat ab imo,
Omnibus et sanctis titulo sacravit honoris,
Ultime lux Julii sit vitae terminus illi,
M. ter C. quinto decies nonoq, sub Anno.
Respice, mortalis guis quondam, sed mod talis,
quantus et ipse suit, dum membra Calentia gessit?
Hic primes patrum, Cleri Duxq et genus altum,
Corpore valde decens, sunsus et acumine clarens,
Filus hic Comitis generosi Devoniensis.
Legum Doctor erat celebrisq quam Fama serenat,
Urbs Herefordiensis Polis inclyta Londinesis,
Ac Dorobernensis, sibi trinae gloria sedis,
Detur honor digno, sit Cancellarius ergo.
Sanctus ubique Paterl prudens suit epse Minister,
Nam largus, lattue, castus, pius, atque pudicus,
Magnanious, Justus, et egenis totus Amicus,
Et quia Rex Christe, Pastor bonus extitit iste,
Sumat solamen nune ttcum quaesumus, Amen,

Behold a Reverend Prelate of great Fame,
William de Courtenay was his name,
Who did most humbly by his Will ordain,
That in this Place his Body should be layn;
Near the College which from the Ground he rais'd,
And nam'd All-Saints, for God there to be prais'd:
One Thousand Three Hundred Ninety and Five,
The last of July was the Engd of his Life,
O! how great was this Person, and how good!

He was Chief of the Fathers, and of high Blood;
 Graceful in Body, and in Wit did excell;
 Son of an Earl that in Devon did dwell:
 He was Doctor of Laws, and by his Skill
 The chief Place in the Church he did well fill;
 Was Bishop of Hereford, from thence translated
 To London, then to Canterbury promoted:
 And because to Merit Honour is due,
 He was created Lord Chancellor too,
 He was a Holy Fatherl wise Minister of God;
 Generous and chearful, chaste, modest, and good;
 Coragious and just, a Friend to the Poor,
 And by his Charity laid up in Store.
 Because, O Christ! a good Shepherd was he,
 We pray that he may have true Joy with Thee!

Mr. Weaver, in his Funeral Monuments, says, That in this epitaph, unstead of chancellor is meant cardinal; for I cannot, says he, find him to be chancellor. Walsingham indeed says, that he was made cardinal in the year 1378: But Bishop Godwin says, I find no mention of it elsewhere and therefore do much doubt of it: Nevertheless Sir Robert Cotton, in his Abridgement of the Records of the Tower, does say expressly, that he was Chancellor of England.

Sir Edward Coke, in the 4th part of his Institutes, folio 83, in his chapter of the chancery citeth the first decree that ever he observed; and in the margin he saith, that William Courtenay, son to Hugh Earl of Devonshire, was then Arch-Bishop of Canterbury and Lord Chancellor. In the 2d part of his Institutes, folio 553, he seems to contradict it: Though he is put among the chancellor in Mr. Selden's catalogue; and he says, he was Lord Chancellor when he was Bishop of London, in 4 Richard II. but did not continue long in that officer And therewith agreeth Sir William Dugdale: But how can that be true? For Simon Sudbury, Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, was chancellor as long as he lived; and immediately upon his death, William was translated to Canterbury, It may be trueg that William Courtenay was nominated by the King, and acted as chancellor, before he was confirmed Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, and before he had received his bull from Rome: And, in that sense, what Mr. Selden saith may be true. Philpot, in his Catalogue of Chancellors, leaves him out, and says he was not chancellor. Sir Henry Spelman, in Verbo Cancellarius, followeth the Guess of Philpot; but the record of parliament putteth it out of doubt.

In 20 Richard 11. there was an office of inquisition, after the death of the Arch-Bishop, and the jurors did says upon their oath, that William de Courteney, late Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, died the Monday next before the day of St. Peter ad Vincula, without an heir of his body in marriage and that Edward de Courtenay, who is now Earl of Devon, is descended of Edward Courtenay, brother of the said William, son of Hugh Courtenay, late Earl of Devon, and Margaret his wifel and that he is the son and heir of the said Edward, and is of the age of forty years; and this William died siesed of divers lands, which descended to this Edward his heir.

CHAPTER XI.

Sir Peter Courtenay was the sixth son of Hugh Courtenay, third Baron of Okethampton, and second Earl of Devonshire of that name, and younger brother to William Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, and account of whom is given in the former chapter. And as the Arch-Bishop was famous for his learning and wisdoms and was raised up to the highest places both in church and state, so was his brother Sir Peter famous for his valour, and great skill in feats of arms, and for his merit highly advanced was made the King's standard-bearer, Governour of Windsor-Castle, Governour of Calais, Lord Chamberlain to the King, one of his privy council, and Knight of the most noble Order of the Garter.

In the year 1366, 41 Edward III. Saturday, April 3, was fought the famous battle of Navaret in Spain in which Edward the Black Prince got a signal victory over Henry the bastard-brother of Peter King of Spain, who had usurped the kingdom, and turned out the lawful King his brother Peter; but by this victory the Black Prince put Peter into his kingdom again. Sir Peter Courtenay, together with his brothers Hugh and Philip, were knighted by the Black Prince the day before the battle, as was said before; and Sir Peter behaved himself so well in that battle, and at other times after, the Prince of Wales, November 2, that year, settled upon him 50 l. per annum for his life, to be paid out of his revenues in Devonshire and Cornwall and in the year 1269, 43 Edward III. the Prince, by his letters patents, granted him another 50 l. a year for his life, to be paid out of the stannery of Devon.

In the year 1378, 2 Richard II, the French having often landed upon our coast, and done great spoil, the Duke of Lancaster was ordered to raise an army, and to sail with it into France and whilst he lay at Anchor with his ships, getting in ammunition and provision slowly, and with unnecessary delays, some of his men being weary of tarrying so long, and living so idle upon the provisions that were procured for them by the country's money, set out to sea, under the command of the Earls of Salisbury and Arundell and sailed towards the coast of Britany. Sir Philip and Sir Peter Courtenay, two brothers, who had the command of some ships, espied certain vessels belonging to the enemy, inconsiderately assaulted them, being the whole Spanish fleet, the Spaniards being then enemies to England for the bastard Henry had by this time turned his brother Peter out of his kingdom again, and slain him and though Sir Philip and Sir Peter Courtenay, and those that were with them, fought bravely, and defended themselves for some time, yet were in the end overcome most of the men, being gentlemen of Somersetshire and Devonshire, were slain: Sir Philip Courtenay was fore wounded, and Sir Peter was taken prisoner and carried into Spain but within a year after, peace being made between the King of Spain and the Prince of Navarre, whom the English assisted, one article of the peace was, that Sir Peter Courtenay should be set at liberty; and so he went to Bordeaux, and from thence to England; and for his trouble and charges had a grant from the King of the benefit of the marriage of Richard the brother and heir of Thomas de Poinings.

In 1383, 7 Richard II. Sir Peter Courtenay, in requital of the civilities he received in France when he was there, had leave from the King to send into France, by Northampton Heralds and by Anlet Pursuivant,

eight cloths of scarlet, black, and russet, to give to certain nobelmen of that realm; as also two horses, six saddles, six little bows, one sheaf of large arrows, and another sheaf of cross-box arrowst likewise a greyhound, and other dogs, for the King of France's keeper.

In the some year: Sir Peter Courtenay having by accident lost the letters patents of Edward the Prince of Wales, wherein the Prince granted to him 50 l. a-year for his life out of his revenues of Devonshire and Cornwall, and another 50 l. out of the stannery of Devon, King Richard gave him a new grant of it, and his letters patents are in these words: Know ye, etc. That whereas our most dear father, deceased, did, Nov.2, in the 41st year of the reign of Lord Edward, late King of England, our grandfather, by his letters patents, grant to our beloved and faithful cousin Peter de Courtenay, for his good service done and to be done to our said father, the sum of 50 l. a year for term of life, to be received out of his revenues in the counties of Devon and Cornwall; and by other letters, dated 43 Edward III. another 50 l.out of the stannery of Devon, which letters we have since and before our coronation confirmed nowg because the said Peter de Courtenay has casually lost the said grants, as he hath sworn before our council, the King hath granted him 100 l. a year out of the issues of the small customs of the Village of Bristol for his lifei dated November 25.

In the year 1387, 11 Richard II. the King's writ is directed to the Barons of the Exchequer, for discharging William Arch-Bishop of Canterbury of 200 l. that was demanded of him out of divers of his tythes, and charging it on Sir Peter Courtenay. In that year 1389, he was made a privy-counsellor; and the King that year granted to him and his heirs a certain parcel of land in Alsington in Devonshire, with the advowson of the church thereunto belonging, as also divers other lands for his life.

In that same year, three knights of France, who were much noted for their valour and skill in exercise of arms, namely Monsieur de Boucequant, Monsieur Reynaut de Roy, and Monsieur de St.Pie, all gentlemen of the King's chamber: These three proclaimed a tournament an Inglebert, the 20th of November, which was worthily performed, whereat were present an hundred English gentlemen, amongst whom was Sir Peter Courteney.

Froissart says, that he did run six courses; and Sir William Dugdale says, that Sir Peter Courteney did notably manifest his military skill and valour at a tournament in France. And when that was over he went to Paris; and after he had been there a little while, he challenged Monsieur Tremoyle, a noble gentleman, who having obtained leave of the King, accepted the same, and appointed the day and place: The day being come, the King, the Duke of Burgundys and other great lords, were present to behold it. The first course was exceedingly well performed by both parties with high commendation, but the King forbad any farther proceedings, seemingly offended with our knight, who had made suit for leave to do his utmost. Sir Peter herewith grieved, thought fit to leave the court and country of France; at which the King was very well pleased, and sent him an honourable present at his departure; the Duke of Burgundy did the like; and the King commanded Monsieur de Clary, a great lord of his court, to accompany him to Calais, which was then in the hands of the English; by the way thithersthey visited Valeran, the third of that names Earl of St.Paul, who married King Richard's halvesister, widow to Hugh Courtenay, son of Hugh Courtenay, Sir Peter's

elder brother, where they had a good reputation and sitting one night at supper, the Earl of St.Paul asked Sir Peter Courtenay, how he liked France? and how he liked the nobility of the Kingdom? To whom Sir Peter Courtenay, with somewhat a sour countenance, replied, that he found in France nothing to be compared with the magnificence that is in England, although for friendly entertainment he had no reason to complain but as for the chief cause for which I went into France, I return unsatisfied for I protest, says he, before this honourable company, that is Monsieur de Clary had come into England, and challenged any of our nation, he should have been fully answered, whereas other measure has been rendered to me in France: for when Monsieur Tremoyle and I engaged our honour after one lance broken, the King commanded me to stop: I have therefore said it, andi wherever I come, I will say, that in France I was denied reason, and leave to do my utmost. Monsieur de Clary was much moved with this speech: yet having it in charge from the King, to conduct Sir Peter safe to Calais, for the present he forbore to say any thing.

But the Earl of St.Paul said, let me tell you, Sir Peter, it appears to me, that you depart from France with much honour, in regard the King did vouchsafe to entreat you to stay the fight, whom to obey is both wise and commendable. Sir Peter having now take his leave of the Earl, passeth on in his journey with Monsieur de Clary, and as soon as they were entered the English territories, he heartily thanked him for his noble company: but Monsieur de Clary having admitted a deep impression to be made on his mind by Sir Peter's eager speeches at the Earl of St.Paul's, began thus to accost him: Now, Sir, I have done my duty in performing the King and my master's command in conducting you to your friendsi Howeverg before we parts I must remember you of those inconsiderate speeches you lately uttered in contempt of the nobility of France: That you may have no cause to boast when you arrive in England, that you were not fully answered Lo! here I am, this day or to morrow, although inferior to many other of our country to do you reason, not out of malice to your person, or vain-gloriously to boast of mine own valour, but to preserve the fame and lustre due to the French nation, which sure never wanted gentlemen at arms to answer any English challenge whatsoever, You speak well and nobly, says our Knight, and with very good will I accept your challenge and to morrow I will not fail to attend you, armed with three lances, according to the French custom. Upon this agreement and resolution Sir Peter Courtenay went for Calais, there to furnish himself with arms and accoutrements proper for the combat; and the lord Warren, then governour there, was made privy to the business. The next day Sir Peter Courtenay returned, according to his promise, to meet Monsieur de Clary between Calais and Bologna, with whom went the Lord Governour and other gentlemen to behold the combat. At the first course both parties broke well; but at the second, by the fault of the English Knight's armour, he was hurt in the shoulder; which made the Lord Warren to tell Monsieur de Clary, that he had done discourteously to hurt Courtensy, his armour being broken. To which he answered, I am sorry for itl but to govern fortune is not in my power: It might have happened to me, what befel him; and to they parted. However Monsieur de Clary came off with Sir Peter Courtenay, when he came home, the King's speech to him was very sharp, and the King reproved him very muchl and argument that he had not acquitted himself so well as he should, Nor did Sir Poter's action better please the King of England; for there was a message brought him from King Richard II. That he the said

said Sir Peter, now at Calais, should forbear to exercise any feats of arms, without the special leave of Henry de Piercy, Earl of Northumberland, and then Earl Marshal.

In the next year, 1390, 14 Richard II. Sir Peter Courtenay was made constable of Windsor Castle.

In the year 1393, 17 Richard II. three Scottish gentlemen challenged three English to fight at Justs; viz. the Earl of Marr challenged the Lord Nottingham; Sir William Darrel, the King of Scots banner-bearer; and one Cockburn, Esquire, challenged Sir Nicholas Hawkirk. In this tryal of manhood the English were victors; for the Earl of Marr and Cockburn were unhorsed by their opponents, the former being so bruised and wounded by the fall, that he died in his return homes Darrel run five courses, and was so equally matched that neither of them was victor.

In the year 1401, 3 Henry 4. Sir Peter had confirmed to him by the King, for a fee, a a makrket and fair in the manour of Moreton in the County of Devon, which was granted to Hugh Lord Courtenay his grandfather, by a charter made in 8 Edward III. In 6 Henry IV, He did bear upon the arms of Courtenay a label of three points azure, charged with nine annulets. He lieth interred in the cathedral-church of St. Peter's in Exon, about the middle of it, near his father the Earl of Devonshire's tomb, where a fair grave-stone, richly inlaid with gilded brass, containing the portraiture of the said Sir Peter, armed cap-a-pee, might heretofore be seen; whose epitaph, as much of it as remaineth, her followeth.

Devoniae natur comitiss Petrusql vocatus
Regis cognatus, Camerarius initutalus
Califiae gratus Capitaneus, ense probatus
Vitae privatus fuit hinc super aftra relatus,
Et quia fublatus de mundo tranfit amatus
Coelo firmatus maneat fine fine beatus,

Which inscription I find thus translated

The Earl of Devonshire's son, Peter by name,
Kin to the King, Lord Chamberlain of fame,
Captain of Calais, for arms well approved,
Who dying was above the stars removed;
And well-beloved went from the world away
To lead a blessed life in heaven for aye.

CHAPTER XII,

Edward Courtenay, son of Edward Courtenay and Emlin daughter of Sir John Dawney, and grand-son of Hugh last Earl of Devonshire was about twenty years old when his grandfather died, and was the third Earl of Devonshire of that family. But Mr. Brooks, York Herald, in a book called A DISCOVERY OF CERTAIN ERRORS PUBLISHED IN PRINT IN THE MUCH COMMENDED BRITANNIA, doth find fault with Mr. Camden, for making the grand-son immediately to succeed the grand-father in the Earldom; and says, that Edward the son of Hugh was the next Earl: but in finding fault with Mr. Camden, he falls into a mistake himself; for it is plain, that Edward son of Hugh Earl of Devonshire died before his father, and that Edward the grand-son was the next Earl; for Hugh, the last Earl of Devonshire, died in the last year of Edward III, and he that succeeded him was not then of age: For Sir William Dugdale says, that in 2 Richard II. he making proof of his age, and doing his homage, had livery of his lands; but at that time, Edward son of Hugh Earl of Devonshire would have been above forty years old, if he had lived; for he was elder brother to William, who was then Bishop of London. It appears likewise, by the inquisition taken after the Earl's death, that it was his grand-son, and not his son, that succeeded him; for in that it is said, the jurors upon their oath do say, that Hugh Courtenay, Earl of Devon, died the 2d of May, in 51 Edward III. and that Edward, son of Edward, son of the said Hugh, is kinsman and heir of the said Hugh, and is twenty years old and more,

Edward then, son of Edward, third son of Hugh Earl of Devonshire, was the third Earl of that family: and in 1 Richard II. he conventioned to serve the King in his Navy-Royal under the command of John a-Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, for one quarter of a year, for defence of the realm; at which time the coast of England was much infested by the French, who landed in several places, and did much mischief. And the Duke of Lancaster, who had the chief management of affairs, brought a great odium upon himself from the people, because he did not endeavour their relief so diligently, and with such application, as his place and the peoples necessity did require.

In 1378, 2 Richard II, Edward Earl of Devonshire, making proof of his age, as was said before, and doing homage, had livery of his lands.

In 1380; 4 Richard II. Edward Earl of Devonshire conventioned to serve in France, under Thomas of Woodstock, Earl of Buckingham, the King's uncle, and constable of England, for a quarter of a year, with eighty men at arms and eighty archers, whereof he himself, five knights, and sixty four esquires, to be part of them, The Earl of Buckingham landed at Calais three days before St. Mary Magdalen, in the month of July; and after a short stay they went out thence, with a design to march thro' the Kingdom of France into Britany, to help the Duke thereof against the French King: and when they came to Arde, the Earl of Buckingham knighted the young Earl of Devonshire, the Lord Morly, and some others. And they went that day to a strong house, standing on the riverside; called Folant, wherein was an esquire called Robert, who was owner of the houses and a good man at arms; and he was resolved to defend his house, and for that end had got within it sixty stout men. The

lords and others that were knighted encompassed the house, and began fiercely to attack it, whilst they within as valiantly defended it. Then the Earl of Devonshire, as he stood upon the dykes with his banner displayed, said to his men, Sirs, How is it in this our knighthood that this pitiful dove-house holdeth out so long against us? How will the fortresses and strong places of France hold out, if this house can stand against us so long?

Sirs, on before; let us shew our new chivalry. When his men heard this, they entered in the dykes and took the house, and the owner and all the men with him were made prisoners by the Earl's men. The next day the Earl of Buckingham with his army marched to St. Omers, from thence to Arras, and next to Perrone; and then they marched into Campagne, burning and destroying the country as they went; they afterwards marched through Bastinois, and several other parts of France, the French King not daring all this while to fight them, or to stop their march. They then came into Britany; and after the Earl of Buckingham had conferred with the Duke of Britany; and after the Earl of Buckingham had conferred with the Duke of Birtany, the English army went and besieged Nantes, which city held out by the instigation of the French against their lawful prince. The Duke of Britany promised to join them in a little time; but after the English army had lain before the town for above two months the Duke not coming to their help, they raised the siege, and marched to Vannes; where the Duke of Britany met them, and excused himself for not coming to their assistance, as well as he could; and said, that his nobles refused to go against the city of Nantes; but the French King dying as the English were marching towards Britany, the Duke was better affected towards the new King, and under-hand made a peace with him. The Earl of Buckingham stayed all winter at Vannes, and when he understood that the Duke of Britany had privately made a peace with France, he was angry with the Duke, for whose sake he had undertaken that long and dangerous march; but having got shipping for his army, in April he sailed back to England.

In the year 1381, 5 Richard II, upon the coming over into England of Anne; the daughter of Charles IV, Emperor of Germany, whom King Richard had agreed to marry, Edward Earl of Devonshire, with the Earl of Salisbury, received her at Graveling with five hundred spears, and as many archers, and so brought her to Calais, and from Calais to Dover; and when the news was brought of the queen's arrival at Dover, many of the nobility and others of the Parliament were sent to receive her, and convey her honourably to the King's presence before she came to London, the Mayor and alderman, with a great company of the chief citizens met her at Black-heath, and led her into the city with great honour and respect. Within a few days she was married to the King by William Courtenay, Archbishop of Canterbury, the Earl's uncle. Her coronation soon followed, which was celebrated with very great splendour and magnificence all the nobility of the nation attending, and sparing no cost to heighten the glory and state of that day.

In the year 1383, 7 Richard II, Edward Earl of Devonshire is constituted admiral for the Western parts; that is, from the Thames westward, a thing frequent in those times; and Henry Piercy Earl of Northumberland was made Admiral of the North; and on the 19th of November that year, the Earl of Northumberland promised for himself and the Earl of Devonshire, safely to keep the sees, as long as the money that the commons gave for that purpose did last, which was 6 d. of every pound of merchandise, and 2 s. of every tun of wine: which is a most observable record as to tonnage of poundage, saith Mr. Rowe.

In that year also a commission is directed by the King to his beloved cousin Edward Earl of Devonshire and others, for arresting certain persons therein named and others, that shall resist the King's commissioners appointed for taking the wreck of the sea at Plymouth. Another commission that year is directed to him and other, for making proclamation in the County of Devon against those which did bear arms and make rebellions, and for punishing of theme Because, saith the King, we understand that certain malefactors and troublers of our peace, and men armed in a warlike manner, in routs and other unlawful meetings, came lately to Topsham, and there by force of arms took Peter Hill, a certain messenger of the venerable Father William Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, and, with no small cruelty and threatnings of death, compelled him to eat the wax of a certain seal of the said Arch-Bishop.

In 1384, 18 Richard II. Edward Earl of Devonshire, being then Earl Marshal of England, was again retained to serve the King in his Scottish warsland he was ordered to repair to Newcastle; for the King raised an army to go against the Scots, and with part of it the Duke of Lancaster was immediately sent towards Scotland, the King himself resolving to follow as soon as he could, The Scots and French had been very busy in plundering, burning, and killing, before they had the news of the Duke of Lancaster's approach but as soon as they heard of that they returned home, and with their cattle withdrew themselves into the mountains, so that they Duke found no opposition. The King being come to York, heard of the retiring of the Scots, yet proceeded in his journey, and joining with the Duke, destroyed the country of Scotland as far as Edinburgh, which city they also burnt; the King and his army remaining but five days before Edinburgh, returned back to England.

In 1386, 10 Richard II. the Earl of Devonshire was again retained to serve the King in his fleet at sea, to prevent an invasion which was threatened by the French, and about which the people were in a great consternation and on All-Saints Eve a fair gale blew, and the French King set sail for England; but when they had passed about seven leagues, the wind unexpectedly and suddenly turned, and carried them back with great loss, In this year Edward Earl of Devon was, with William Courtenay, Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, and others, a witness to the patent for making Robert Earl of Oxford, Duke of Ireland.

In the year 1387; 11 Richard II, the Earl of Arundell, adjoining to him Edward Earl of Devonshire, and Thomas Earl of Nottingham, being by an order of Parliament appointed to defend the kingdom, and annoy the French, got a well-mann'd fleet together, and in the spring they were all ready to sail: and having received information, that the French, Flemish, and Spanish fleet lay at Rochelle, waiting for a fair wind to sail to their several ports to which they were bound, the Earl's put to sea with all speed, to intercept them in their passage: on Lady-Day Eve they met with them, and, after a short engagement took one hundred sail of them, richly laden with nineteen thousand tun of wine, besides other commodities, The citizens of Midleburgh offered the three Earls to buy all their wines at 5 l.a tun; but they refusing so good a market, told them, that they would let none but the people of England, whom they served, to have the use and advantage of the wines and bringing them into divers parts of the kingdom, they caused so great a plenty, that wines were sold generally for a mark a tun and the best for not above twenty shillings their own shares they generously gave amongst their friends; and having refitted their ships, went to sea again. The success of their first achievement

had much terrified the enemy, and therefore in this second expedition they met with but faint opposition; for they landed in many places upon the coast of Flanders, and burnt and plundered the country as they pleased; and at length arriving at Brest, they took a new fort, which the French had lately erected to annoy the castle, and mann'd it, and having supplied it with plenty of provision and ammunition, returned home. Success always raises mens reputation; but those Earls having added to their courageous and brave actions, a generous contempt of their own advantage, and a signal zeal for the publick good, it begat so high an opinion of their worth in the minds of all men, that they became a subject of publick praise and admiration.

In the year 1389, 13 Richard II. the Earl of Arundel being made admiral again by the parliament, put forth to sea with a great navy, well-stored with land-forces, and several noblemen (amongst whom was the Earl of Devonshire) were with him: he went to assist the Duke of Britany, who being under the King of France's displeasure, because he had imprisoned the Lord Guiselin, constable of France, feared an invasion from thence. The English fleet arrived at Rochelle, and landing some men began to spoil the country about Marranti; but a peace being suddenly concluded between the Duke and the French King, the Earl returned, and in his way meeting with the French fleet, took eighty of them, and invaded the Isle of Thee and burnt it: he also took the Isle of Oleron.

In 10 Richard II. in the court of chivalry, in the great case between Sir Richard Scroop, appellant, and Sir Robert Gravenour, defendant, touching matter of arms, the attestations taken by commission from John a-Gaunt, the Earl of Derby, the Earl of Northumberland, the Duke of York, and Earl of Arundell are, for ought appears, without oath, whereas others are sworn. The entry of the depositions is prayed and beseeched according to the right of arms, by the procurator of Mr. Richard Scroop to testify and say, etc. And amongst others the Earl of Devonshire was examined by commission by John Kentwood, who, in the return of his commission and the depositions, certifies the court, that he had sworn all the witnesses, there being none of the nobility, but only the Earl of Devonshire in his return that was not sworn, but spake in the loyalty of his chivalry: A case it is of no ordinary example, saith Mr. Rowe. and the case concernign the swearing of those who are of the degree of peers of the realm hath been not a little considered, as may appear by the solemn resolution taken in the case of the Earl of Lincoln. Jones's Reports, 152, at large,

In the 1st year of Henry IV. 1399, there was a great conspiracy formed against the King, in order to assassinate him, and to restore King Richard to his throne: There were a great many nobles concerned in it, as John Holland Earl of Huntington, Thomas Holland Earl of Kent, Edward Earl of Rutland, (who had been made Dukes of Exeter, Surrey, and Aumarle, by King Richard, but were degraded from that title by King Henry) John Mountacute Earl of Salisbury, Thomas Spencer Earl of Glocester, the Bishop of Carlsisle, with a great many knights and gentlemen: The design was to meet together a great company of them at Christmas, under pretence of diverting themselves by mumming, and other pastimes that are commonly made use of at that solemn time. A little before the time of execution the plot was discovered, some say by the late Duke of Aumarle, and afterward by the Mayor of London; and the King had so short a warning of it, that he was but just gone from Windsor, when the Earls of Kent and Salisbury, not hearing of the discovery, entered with 400 men, about twilight,

Twilight, into Windsor-Castle with a design to kill the King. John Holland Earl of Huntington hovered about London to raise men, and to make other provisions in order to carry on their design but upon the report of the King's safety, he endeavoured to fly away by water. The two Earls of Salisbury and Kent went to Wallingford, and so to Abingdon, and from thence to Cirencester: The townsmen of Cirencester fell upon them and took thomp and because of their followers did set the town on fire, thinking by it to recover their Lords out of the townsmens hands, whilst they were busy in quenching the fire, they carried them out of the town, and severed their heads from their bodies. The Earl of Huntington, with a trusty Knight of his, Sir John Shelly, endeavouring to escape by sea, was taken in Essex, and had his head taken likewise from his body by the common people.

The Earl of Gloucester had like execution done upon him by the commons at Bristol, and some others of them were put to death at Oxford, and some at London. Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire, was made Lord High Steward of England for the trying of some of these conspirators. In the report of the case is to be seen the order and state of that high office and court for the tryal of peers, particularly expressed and described, and is the standing authority and precedent observed to this day. Sir Edward Coke saith this Earl was the first high steward, pro hac vice, upon an occasion of an arraignment of a peer, the office being antiently hereditary and by tenure, but two or three or years before John &-Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, was Lord High Steward upon the tryal of the Earl of Arundel. I cannot find, says Mr.Rowe, who the peer was that were then tried, and particularly the Bishop of Carlisle, of whom it is said, that the King of his clemency pardoned him, after he had been found guilty, and sentence had passed upon him: and it is said, that nineteen in all were put to death for his conspiracy, most of which were men of special note, and that some were put to death in London; and the meaning of that must be after they had been tryed and sentenced to death.

This Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire, from the time he came to age, which was 2 Richard II, was summoned to all the parliaments in Richard II. Henry IV. and Henry Vth's reign, to the time of his death, In I Henry VI a writ directed to him, next after the King's sons and brothers, and cousins; as is in most of the rest.

Hollingshed says, that this Edward Earl of Devonshire, did build mills upon the River Ex, and erected two more weirs that what were before; the one at St.James's, overthwart the whole river, the other at Lampreford. He confirmed some grants of lands that were made by his ancestors to the Abbey of Torr; and the deed is sealed with his seal, in which are his arms supported by two swans. He was blind a considerable time before he died (and therefore was commonly called the Blind Earl) or else, in all probability, we should have heard of a great many more of his military actions. He did by his will, bearing date at Tiverton, Juno 29, 1419, 7 Henry V. bequeath his body to be buried in the Abbey-Church of Ford, of his ancestors foundation and died November 5, next ensuing. Mr.Rieden thinks, that the monument and inscription upon it, which Mr.Westcot says was made for William Rivers, Earl of Devon, did belong to this Earl.

There is a great dispute between heralds and antiquaries, who this Earl's wife was: Mr.Mills, (and herald) says, that Edward Earl of Devonshire, by Eleanor daughter of Roger Mortimer, Earl of March and Ulster,

had Hugh, 13th Earl of Devonshire: But Mr. Vincent, another herald, says it is untrue, and too dangerous to be averred. And Mr. Westcote finds fault with Mr. Brookes, York herald, for saying the same thing that Mr. Mills does; and he says it is manifestly contrary to all other mens opinions, and contrary to the parliament rolls of the 1st of King Edward IV. wherein it is said, that Anna, eldest daughter of Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, was married to Richard of Conesburgh, Earl of Cambridge, and had issue by her Richard Duke of York, father to King Edward IV. Eleanor, second daughter, died without issue: so that this marriage of Edward Earl of Devonshire with Eleanor Mortimer, especially to have issue by her, can in no wise be verified, saith Mr. Westcote.

"But now (says he) to leave this noble Earl without wife, and yet to have lawful issue, (as others have done) would seem against both law and reason I will therefore aim at some likelihood to supply this defect: In the church of Tiverton, the place of the Earls's chief residence, I find divers of the Courtenay's arms with their matches impaled; amongst others there is the coat of the Lord Camois impaled with Courtenays; and therefore not reading, or being any other way informed, that any other of that name or house matched with Camois, I have good reason to suppose and think, that he married with a daughter of Thomas Lord Camois, who lived in that age; and Sir Thomas Camois, the Lord's son, was with this Earl in France under the Duke of Buckingham, and knighted by him a little time after the Earl was. And in the Church, next in place, I found the Arms of March and Ulster impaled also with Courtenay's, which made me believe there was a match also that way; which I take to be thus: This Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire, surnamed the Blind, had issue, 1st, Edward his eldest son, Lord Courtenay, who received his knighthood, 1 Henry IV. and died sans issue, before his father; and it is highly probable, that this was that Edward Lord Courtenay that married Eleanor Mortimer. Now to prove that the Earl's eldest son was Edward, there have been lately divers deeds extant; one in the 3d of Henry V. concerning the advowson of Rectory of Kentisboar, wherein he is named Dominus Edwardus Courtenay, Junior, with many others to be produced The Earl's second son was Hugh, who succeeded him in his honour and lands."

Thus saith Mr. Westcote. And I think he has clearly proved, that Eleanor Mortimer was wife of Edward Lord Courtenay, junior, and not of the Earl his father; and has also found out who was the Earl's wife, by a coat of arms in a church, which all the heralds could not do and so has reconciled the difference between them, which they themselves, by all their skill, could not reconcile: as by medals it has been lately proved, and it is no longer doubted, that Etruscilla was the wife of Trajanus Decius, and not of Volusianus, the Roman Emperour, as was generally believed before. To confirm what Mr. Westcote says, Sir William Dugdale does plainly show, that this Earl had a son named Edward, and he relates several things of him, Indeed Sir Peter Ball saith,

"I find that in 4 Henry V. Edward Courteney the younger, the King's cousin, is stiled the King's lieutenant, and general of the men of war in the King's fleet at sea; and this must be the blind Earl, for I cannot find that he had a son called Edward."

But it is plain by this that he had a son called Edward; for he is here called Edward Courtenay, Junior, as he was in that deed that Mr. Westcote mentions, to distinguish him from his father: and how could the Earl, that was then blind, and had been for some time, (for it was but a little before his death) be the King's lieutenant, and admiral in a voyage at Sea?

Edward Courtenay, first of that name, Earl of Devonshire, married then Matilda, as Sir William Pole calls her, daughter of Thomas Lord Camois, and had by her three sons; 1. Edward, of whom I shall speak in the next chapter; 2. Hugh, who succeeded his father in the Earldom; 3. James, who in 8 Henry VI. 1428, about the time that the English besieged Orleans, covenanted to serve the King one whole year in his wars in France, with twenty men at arms and sixty archers on horseback.

This Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire, surnamed the Blind, was siezed at his death of the Manours of Waddesden and Hillesdon, and Waninton in the County of Bucks; of Iwerne-Courtenay, Ebrington; Corston, and the advowson of the Priory of Lodres, in the County of Dorset; of the Manour and Hundred of Crewkerne, the Manour and Hundred of West-coker, the Manours of Hannington, Hinton, and Moneford, in the County of Somerset, the Manour and hundred of Exminster, the Manour of Topsham and Twilebear, the hundreds of Woneford and Harridge, the manour, castle, and hundred of Plympton, the borough, manour and hundred of Tiverton, the honour, castle, and manour of Okehampton with its members, the manours of Sampford-Courtenay, Chirbear and Duelton, the manour and brough of Chimleigh, the manour and borough of Caverly, the manour of Newnham juxta Chitlehamsole, the manours of Exlsland and Kenn, the borough of Kenford, the manours of Whimble and Ailesboar, the Hamlet of Newton-Popleford, the Manours of Huntsbears Whitwell, and Cullscomb, the hundred of Culltion, the Borough of Culliford, the manours of Whitford, Musberry, and Farway, the hundred of West-Budley, the manours of Bodmington, Stancomb, South-Allington, and Shapton, all in the County of Devon; the manours of Radford, Shevioc, Antony, Tregantel, Trelewin, Perthlco, Treluggan, Landilip, Leigh-durant, Landren, Northill, Troverbin, Tregamur, Borough de Porthpigham, Crostholdborough, and Landile, in the County of Cornwall; with the Borough of Limington, and manour of Bremer, in the County of Southampton.

The arms of Camois are, Or, on a Chief Gules, three Plates.

CHAPTER VIII.

Edward Courtenay, eldest son of Edward Earl of Devonshire, was commonly called Edward Courtenay, junior, to distinguish him from his father. King Henry IV. on St. Edward's Eve, being the 12th of October, before the day of his coronation, lodged in the Tower of London, and there made his four sons, with several of the sons of the nobility, to the number of forty six, Knights of the Bath, amongst whom were this Edward Courtenay and his brother Hugh. King Henry IV. married Mary, one of the daughters and co-heirs to the last Humphrey de Bohuns Earl of Hereford, who upon that account was made Duke of Hereford before he was King; and Hugh Courtenay, second Earl of Devonshire of that name, and grand-father to Edward Earl of Devonshire, married Margaret daughter of the former Earl of Hereford, aunt to Henry IVth's wife; and so the Earl and his sons being nearly allied to the King were in great favour with him, and the two sons had the honour of having, together with the King's sons, that title conferred upon them. Mr. Cambden says, they watched

all night before the day of the coronation, and bathed themselves, and hence they came to be called Knights of the Bath, and that he observed nothing of them before that time.

But it is said of Hugh Courtenay, first Earl of Devonshire of that names as was observed before, that when he was made Knight-Bannaret, he had clothes for bathing, and other accoutrements usual in such cases, allowed him by the King; so that bathing was used before at the making of Knights in a solemn manner: but this might be the first time that they were called Knights of the Bath; and the season might be, why they were called so now, that they might be distinguished from Knight of the Barter, which Order was erected not long before.

This Sir Edward Courtenay, eldest son to the Earl of Devonshire, in 14 Henry IV. 1412, went on pilgrimage to St. James of Compostella in Galicia, with forty men in his company, in the ship called the Mary of Kingswear. He was in the expedition made into France, 3 Henry V. 1415, in which expedition King Henry V. took the Town of Harfleur, and fought the Battle of Agincourt, in which he obtained a signal victory: The French lost in that battle ten thousand men, and had one thousand five hundred taken prisoners, which victory was obtained with little loss on the English side.

The year following, 4 Henry V. this Edward Lord Courtenay was retained by Indenture to serve the King in his fleet at sea for forty days, with five knights, one hundred eighty four men at arms, and four hundred archers, taking 4 s. a day for himself, and 2 s. a day for his archers. Sir Peter Ball saith, he was stiled the King's Lieutenant, and General of the men of War in the King's voyage to sea, and Speed, in his Chronicle, says, that during all the time of the Emperour's journey, stay, and return, which was this year, the seas, for the security of his person and people, were guarded with a navy of ships, and three thousand soldiers, under the conduct and trust of the Baron of Carew of Devonshire, who was Vice-Admiral, in all probability, to this Edward Lord Courtenay

In this year King Henry sent his navy, in which this Sir Edward Courtenay was under the command of John Duke of Bedford, his brother, to raise the siege of Harfleur, which was carried on by sea by the French fleet, under the command of the Viscount de Narbon, who was assisted by six large Genoa gallies and several Carricks: the Duke, zealous for the honour of the King and nation, immediately passed over to Harfleur, and engaging with the French Navy, after a sharp fight, obtained a signal victory, taking three Genoa Carricks, and in one of them the Bastard of Boubon prisoners the rest being all sunk or driven shattered into Britany. The Earl of Arminiack, Constable of France, who maintained the siege by land, seeing the English master of the sea, immediately raised the siege, and marched to Paris. This news of this speedy deliverance of Harfleur being brought into England, was astonishing to the Emperours (who was then in England to mediate a peace between England and France) who hearing of the success of the English Fleet near Harfleur, before he could have imagined them there, with admiration said to the King, Happy is the nation who hath so good a King, but much more happy is the King who hath such valiant and obedient subjects. This Edward Lord Courtenay was again retained by the King to serve him in his wars in France with thirty men at arms, himself one, and one other knight, the rest esquires, and ninety archers, at which time the King besieged and took the Towns of Caen and Fallais, and other towns in Normandy.

In 6 Henry V. Edward Lord Courtenay was made Admiral of the King's fleet from the first of May to the first of August; and in this year he died. He married Eleanor daughter of Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, and left no issue by her.

Lionel Duke of Clarence, third son to Edward III had, by Elizabeth his wives daughter and only heir to William Burgh, Earl of Ulster, issue Philippa his Only daughter and heir, who was married to Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, and by him she had issue Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, who married Eleanor daughter of Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent, and had issue, 1. Edmund Earl of March, who by his wife Anna, daughter of Edmund Earl of Stafford, had no issue at all; 2. Roger, the second son he died young, without issue also; 3. Anna, eldest daughter, who was married to Richard of Conesburgh, Earl of Cambridge, and had issue Richard Duke of York, who, in right of his mother, claimed the crown of England, as being heir to Lionel Duke of Clarence; and his son Edward IV. King of England, enjoyed it upon that title: 4. Eleanor; she was wife to Edward Courtenay, eldest son to Edward Earl of Devonshire, first of that names as was said before,

The arms of Mortimer impaled with those of Courtenay are, quarterly, 1. England and France; 2. Ulster; Or, a cross gules; 3. Mortimer; barry of six, or and azure, on a chief of the first, three pallets between two esquires, bast. dext. and finist of the seconds an inescutcheon argent.

CHAPTER XIV,

Hugh Courtenay, fourth Baron of Okehampton, and third Earl of Devonshire of that name, second son of Edward Earl of Devonshire, was thirty years old when his father died: he was, together with his brother Edward, made Knight of the Bath at the coronation of Henry IV. Soon after his father's death, doing his homage, he had livery of all his lands, as also of 181.6s.8d. annuity, which had been antiently paid to his ancestors as the tertium denarium for the Earldom of Devon. In the 6th of Henry V. 1418, his father then living, he was made chief commander of the King's fleet in the room of Edward his elder brother, who then deceased. In which year Roan was besieged by the English; and it was thought the most prudent way to block up all the avenues to the city, and so starve them, which their great numbers made them liable to the sooner; and to that end the English fleets which was made of one hundred sail of ships, was brought up the Seine, to hinder all relief by water and the river was blocked up with three chains, one of them laid two foot above water, another with the level, and the third two foot under waters to hinder all relief from coming to the city by boats. The charge of this affair was committed unto Thomas Baron Carew, who commanded under the Earl of Devonshire, and he nothing failed in the trust reposed in him. In 7 Henry V. 1419, he served the King again in his fleet with three knights, three hundred seventy six men at arms, and seven hundred eighty archers; and that year there was an indenture made between Hugh Courtenay, Earl of Devon, lieutenant to the King

in a sea-voyage for defence of the realm, and Sir John Arundel of Trecice, for accompanying him therein,

His father, Edward Earl of Devonshire; surnamed the Blind, died this year; and as this Earl Hugh upon his father's death had livery of his lands upon doing his homage, so in the next year, 1420, 8 Henry V. he was called to Parliament; but he did not enjoy his honour and estate long, for he died about two years after, June 16, 1422, 10 Henry V. two months before the King, leaving behind him Thomas his son and heir, being about eight years old, of whom we shall speak in the next chapter; and another son named John. His wife was Anne, daughter of Richard Lord Talbot, and sister to John Talbot, Earl of Schrewsbury, the terror of France and glory of England, as Dr. Kennet, in his History of England calls him, He left her a fair dowry; viz. the manours of Tiverton, Exminster, and Topsham, Chirbear, Caverley, Newnham and Musborry, the moiety of the fairs of Crulleditch, with their profits, one messuage and one carrucat of land in Brokeloutherel and Smallcomb, the hundreds of Tiverton, Exminster and Harridge, the free fishing in the River Ex, the perquisites for the court of the borough of Tiverton and Caverly, 181.6s.8d rent yearly, payable by the Sheriff of Devon, 201.8s.d. ob. out of the demesne lands of Holboughton, 40s. rent of assize issuing out of divers burgages in Kenford, all in the County of Devon; as also the manour of Hillesdon in the County of Bucks: which Anne, widow of Hugh Courtenay, Earl of Devon, obtained leave of the King to marry John Boteaux, Esquire, and she died January 16, 1440, 19 Henry VI.

The arms of Talbot are, gules, a lyon rampant, with a border engrail'd, or.

In the time of this Hugh, I find in the Exchequer (saith Sir Peter Ball) a very notable record of his possessions, particularly distinguishing what and how much he held, as belonging to his Earldom of Devon, and what as belonging to his Barony of Okehampton, which I will at large transcribe. Hugh Courtenay; son and heir of Edward late Earl of Devon holdeth of the Lord the King in capite xviii 1. viz. viii d. yearly revenues, to him and his heirs for ever, out of the profits of the County of Devon, the honour of the Castle and manour with the Borough of Plympton; the manour and Borough of Tiverton; the manour of Exminster; the manour of Topsham and Twilebear; the manour of Pole-Auton; the hundred of Woneford and Harridge; free fishing in the River Ex; one acre of land in Woodly; three acres of land in Stoke-Damerel; one messuage, one plow-land, and an acre of meadow in Bateford; viii 1. yearly in his Lordship of Holboughton; the advowsons of the Churches of Throwleigh, Milton-Damrel, St. Leonard by Exon; the Priory of St. James near Exon; the Abbey of Buckland, with the appurtenances in the County of Devon; and half of the fair of Crulleditch, with the profits of the same, in the said County of Devon; by the service of half the County of Devon, besides the manour of Cadleigh, Milton-Damarel, Soldenham, Black-Auton, and Boleby, with their appurtenances, in the County of Devon; and the manour of East-coker, Hardington, and Ashcomb in the County of Somerset; and the honour and Castle of Christchurch, and the Manour of Ringwood, in the County of Southampton; and the whole Isle of Wight, with the appurtenances, are, and antiently were, parcels of the same Earldom. And the honour, Castle and manour of Okehampton, the manour of Sampford Courtenay, Churbeare, Duelton, the manour of Newenham near Chittlehamholt,

the Borough and manour of Chymleigh, the manour of Ex-Island and Kenn, the borough of Kensteed, the manour of Whimble and Ailesbear, the hamlet of Newton-Popleford, the manor of Huntsbear, Whitwell and Culliton, the borough of Culliford, the manour of Whitford and Musberry; one messuage, one hide of land in Brokeland, Tryll, and Smalcombe; seven messuages, one hide of land, one mill in Pontesford near Columpton, one acre of land in Assington; one messuage, 100 acres of land, and six acres of pasture in Seylake near Halberton; the advowsons of the prebends of Heighs-Cutton and Kenn in the chapel of the Castle of Exon, the advowson of the Abbey of Ford, and of the priory of Cowick in the County of Devon, and the manour of Hannington in the County of Somerset; the manour of Iwerne-Courtenay in the County of Dorset, are all parcels of the honour of Okehampton, by the service of ninety knights fees pertaining to the Barony of Okehampton; the said honour, manours, and other the premisses, with the manour of Newenham, do make the intire Barony of Okehampton.

But besides these, there were a multitude of knight's fees held by knights service of either of them, full as many as they held the Earldom and Barony of the King in capite, as by many records appeareth; which, because they were not in demesne, but in service, are not in this record accounted parcels of the Earldom and Barony, but in other records are termed fees belonging to them.

A, copy of a grant of this Hugh Earl of Devonshire, (which I had communicated to foe, saith Sir Peter Ball, by Mr. Sampson Lennard, herald) the original of which he saw under seal, which for the rarity of the precedent I here transcribe: The grant is in French.

To all to whom these presents shall come, greeting. Hugh Courtenay, Earl of Devon and Baron of Okehampton, son to the most noble Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devon and Baron of Okehampton, wisheth health in GOD. Know Ye, that we have give and granted unto our dear and beloved cousin Hugh Lutterell, Knight, and Lord of D'onstarre, to wear our badge, viz. A white boar armed d'or, with this difference only, that he put one double rose d'or in the shoulder of the said boar, to have and to hold this badge of our gift to him the said Hugh Lutterel and his heirs for ever. In testimony of which we have put our seal to this our letter, dated at Plymouth the 13th of July, in the 7th year of Henry V.

CHAPTER XV.

Thomas Courtenay, first of that name, Earl of Devonshire, succeeded his father in the Earldom in the year 1422, 10 Henry V. He was eight years old when his father died, as was said before; and in 8 Henry VI, 1430, being then within age, he covenanted to serve the King for one whole year, with six men at arms and twenty one archers, in a Voyage-royal then made into France for the accustomed wages of war. And the History of England saith, that King Henry, according to the determination of his council, began his Journey for his coronation in France early

early in the spring this year, being accompanied with the Dukes of York and Norfolk, the Earl of Devonshire, and a great many more Earls and Lords that he mentions, with a large retinue of armed men; as well for his present guard, as for a recruit of his army in France, Upon St. George's Eye, April 22, he came to Dover; the next day, being Sunday, he landed at Calais, and after a short stay marched slowly to Roan, where he passed all the summer and that the English might try their fortune under his auspicious presence, as well as signalize their courage and conduct to him, they undertook several advantageous, but hazardous enterprises, About November King Henry went from Roan to Paris in order to the coronation there, for which great preparations had been making great part of the summer. Many Princes and Lords, as well French as English accompanied him, the chief of which the historian reckons up, but does not name the Earl of Devonshire amongst them it is very likely he was abroad upon some action, because he covenanted to serve the King when he went with him for one whole year in his wars, and was then about sixteen years of age, in which age young gentlemen are desirous to appear in the field, and see some action. The King was met by the Parisians with very great respect and pomp, and was crowned in the Church of Nostre Dame on the 7th or 17th day of December, and returned to his palace with the crown on his head, and the scepter in his hand, another crown and scepter being born before him, to signify his kingdom of England, and was there received with sumptuous feasting he staid no longer than 'till the whole solemnity was over, and the noblemen of France and Normandy had paid their homage, and then returned to Roan, where he kept his Christmas, and a little after, by the advice of his council, he went to Calais, from whence, after a short stay, he took ship for England, and landed at Dover, February 11; the young Earl of Devonshire, in all probability, being with him.

In 14 Henry VI, 1435, he did again covenant by indenture to serve the King, for the relief of Calais, with one knight, twenty four men at arms, and four hundred seventy archers. And that year the Duke of Bedford, regent of France, died, and the French took several towns from the English; but whilst fortune prospered the French in some places, the English got the advantage over them in some others, The garrison of Calais, where the Earl of Devonshire went, sallied out, and made a sudden assault upon Bulloigne, and had almost taken the lower town; but failing of it, they burnt many of the ships that were in the haven, and passed from thence into the confines of Graveling, and destroyed all the country round about it. The furious people, impatient of their losses, got together and took arms to oppose them, but being unskillful and undisciplined, were soon routed by the English, four hundred of them being slain, and an hundred and forty taken prisoners, the rest flying into the country for safety; while the English with their spoil and prisoners returned to their garrison.

In the year 1447, 25 Henry VI. there was a long and troublesome suit between Bishop Lacy, the dean and chapter of the Church of Exeter, and the mayor and commonalty of the city, touching their liberties, which at last was referred to Thomas Earl of Devonshire, and Sir William Bonville, Knight who determined the said differences by their award, one branch whereof was, that the mayor and bailiffs, their successors and officers, should for ever thereafter carry their maces within the said Church of St. Peter's, and fee without the disturbance of the Bishop, dean and chapter, and their successors, or any of their officers.

In 1448, 27 Henry VI. there was a dispute between the Earl of Devonshire and the Earl of Arundel about precedence and it was adjudged in parliament that the Earl of Arundell upon the account of his possessing the Castle of Arundell should have place in parliament before the Earl of Devonshire.

The Earl of Arundel obtained an act of parliament in his favour, 11 Henry VI. but it was doubted whether the same extended to his heirs and descendants, and therefore the question was moveed again this year; and the Earl of Devon being descended from the blood-royal, didl as it seems, claim the superiour placer but in favour of the feudal honour of the Castle of Arundel, the precedence was give to the Earl of Arundell whose descendants have been commonly called premier-Earls of England; the honour is now enjoyed by his grace the Duke of Norfolk. I will make no other use of the present instance, saith Mr.Rowe, than to shew that by admittance the Earl of Devon had place above all others, not being above the Earl of Arundel, The copy of the act of parliament in 27 Henry VI I have, saith Mr.Row, and in it is to be remarked the tenderness of the judges of the common lawf to determine the matters of honour and priviledge of the peers, although the same was referred to them by parliament.

In the same year, the Bishop of Winchester, Thomas Earl of Devon, and John Lord Stourton, the third of August, came to the City of Exeter, and brought with them a command from the King, directed to the Mayor, for the loan of some money to be levied on the inhabitants of the said city, for the victualling and furnishing three ships to convey some soldiers into Britain, which supply was speedily and very cheerfully granted.

In the year 1451, 30 Henry VI. the Duke of York and his friends contrived to raise a rebellion and his chief assisters and consellers, as the History of England saith, were John Woubray, Duke of Norfolk, Richard Nevill Earl of Salisbury, the Lord Richard Nevil his son, who was afterward Earl of Warwick, Thomas Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire, who married the Duke of Somerset's daughter, yet sided against him, and Edmund Brook Lord Cobham, all of them person of great ability, numerous attendants, and daring valours so saith the History of England. But it is very improbable, that the Earl of Devonshire should ever be of the Duke of York's side; for the Duke of Somerset and the Earl of Devonshire were the two men that he did mostly endeavour to remove from the King, and he impeached them both in parliament and other historians do not mention any thing of the Earl of Deyonshire's siding with the Duke of York, But Hollingshed says, that the Duke of York and his adherents, perceiving that their accusing the Duke of Somerset and Earl of Devonshire prevailed not, determined to obtain their purpose by open war. The Duke of York had many meetings and consultations which way to raise himself to the throne; and at last he and his friends came to a resolution, that he should raise an army under pretence of the publick good, viz. To remove the bad consellers from about the King, and revenge the manifest injuries and wrong done to the Kingdom by the persons now in authority, and particularly the Duke of Somerset, who had lost Normandy, and being chief in favour with the Queen, was supported to manage all. But that he might have the fairer pretences to do this, it was advised that he should first advertise the King himself of it by letter, that it might be redressed and if he obtained it not, as he knew ist was not any ways likely he should, then his taking arms would be the more justifiable, and the people would the more certainly and readily take part with him. The Duke was

not slack to follow these methods, and accordingly in a few days dispatched a letter to the King, in which he submissively tells him, that great murmur and grudging was universally in the realm, because justice was not duely administered against such as trespassed and offended against the laws; and especially against such as were indicted of high treason, or said openly to be guilty of it, whereby great inconveniences have risen to the realm wherefore he counsels and advises the King, offering himself to be an assistant it it, forthwith to ordain and provide, all impartial justice be done to punish the said offenders, and redress all disorders in government and to that end to send his writs out to arrest such persons as are guilty of it, of what estate or degree soever they be, and to commit them to the Tower of London, and other prisons, there to remain without bail or mainprize, 'till they shall be delivered from thence by course of law; and particularly the Duke of Somerset.

The King not suspecting the design, nor observing how he fought an occasion to quarrel with him, returns him this answer: "That he had determined some time since with himself to erect a council, (of which he had appointed the Duke of York to be one) and give them a more ample authority and power, than ever any had before, to reform all disorders, and punish all such notorious crimes as he complained of; but being a matter of great importance, he would advise first with his chancellor, and other Lords of his council about it, and with them take such orders as should be for the publick benefit of the nation and in the mean time would keep the Duke of Somerset under such safe guard, that he should be ready to answer to the crimes objected against him." This answer, though as full as could be expected from a King to a subjects did not at all satisfy; but the Duke immediately goes into Wales, to levy an army under colour of removing bad counsellors, and preserving the nation from ruin; and in a little time gathered a great number of people to assist him in the enterprize. The King had soon information of the Duke's actions and doings in those parts from his friends there, and having raised a strong army marched into Wales with the Duke of Somerset (now set at liberty) with him, intending to suppress the growing rebellion in its rise; but the Duke of York had notice given him of the King's march towards him, and declined him, hoping to increase his numbers in his passage, and to get possession of London, to which he was resolved to go directly. The King was not presently sensible of the Duke's march by him, and so he recovered London before the King could overtake him; though after he heard that he was marched that way, he followed him with all convenient speed. The Duke sent some of his friends before him to the citizens to represent his undertaking to them, and show them that he had put his life in his hands, and adventured the loss of all that was dear to him, that he might retrieve the nation from impending ruin and since London was the capital city, they were chiefly concerned to join with him in so noble an attempt, which, if they would do he doubted not of such success as should enable him to requite their favours with infinite advantage to them; but the Londoners dared not to venture a second time, since they had been so unsuccessful in Jack Cade's late rebellion, and so denied to receive him into their city. The Duke, though greatly disappointed, dissembled his anger, and crossing the bridge at Kingston, pitched his camp on Burnt-heath near Dartford, within ten or twelve miles of London, with trenches and artillery, The King, who followed the Duke the faster because he seemed to fly, came up to London soon after, and encamped his army on Black-heath, a few miles distant from him; but before he would come to a battle, being very sparing of his

his subjects blood on both sides, he sent the Bishop of Winchester, with others, to know of the Duke, for what causes he had taken up arms to disturb the peace of the King and his good subjects, and to exhort him to submit to the King's mercy, and lay down his arms.

He answered, that he had taken up arms, not to do any damage to the King, either in his honour or person, nor any of the King's good subjects, but to remove from his several ill-disposed persons of his council, enemies of their country and King, who abused the nobility, oppressed the clergy, and impoverished the commons, of whom the Duke of Somerset was the chief; and if the King would put him into safe custody, 'till he should in parliament make a defence to such things as should be objected against him, he would dismiss his troops, and present himself before the King, and serve him as all good subjects ought to do. The Bishops and Lords that were sent from the King, had a commission to grant any reasonable terms of agreement which the Duke should require; and therefore assured him that the Duke of Somerset should immediately be clapp'd up into prison, and so the Duke of the first of March dismissed his army, and broke up his camp according to his promise. This peace, which might seem to favour of cowardice, was made by the Duke of policy and good consideration for the King's army was much greater than his, and consisted of much better soldiers, so that he was in danger to have lost all, if he had come to a battler besides, he had a further reason to dismiss his army, which he more relied on, and that was, that by dismissing his men, upon promises of a reformation, he would give the nation a proof that he purely sought their good, and not his own advancement; that he aimed not at the crown, but publick welfare.

Some days after things were thus composed the Duke of York went to the King's tent at Black-heath, but, contrary to his expectation, finding the Duke of Somerset at liberty, he burst out into a passion, and complained of the King's breach of promise in not imprisoning him, whom he accused of treason, bribery, oppression, and many other crimes. But Somerset as hotly recriminated, telling him, that he was the greatest traytor affirming, that he had contrived with his friends and accomplices to depose the King, and assume the crown to himself and posterity. The King was amazed at the words on both sides, and put off the hearing of them to a full council, which he resolved immediately to call, and to that end returned to London with all speed, and summoned all his nobles together at Westminster. Before the King and his council thus met, the two Dukes charged each other with great crimes; but in the end the Duke of York was discharged, after he had taken an oath in St. Paul's church, before the King and all the nobility that he is, and ever would be, the King's humble and faithful subject, and bear him faith and truth all the days of his life; that he would at no time assent to any thing attempted or done against his noble person, etc, The Duke of York being set at liberty by these means, went to his Castle of Wigmore in the Marches of Wales, and there kept himself as it were in private; yet not without his spies upon the court and the Duke of Somerset's actions, who after his departure was freed from his rival, and rose higher in the favour of the King & Queen than ever, ruling and governing all as he pleased.

The King and council having wisely composed the domestick broils, though indeed it was but like a sore skinned over for the present, which breaks out most violently, fell close into consultation about the affairs in France. And the Duke of York spent most of the next summer in insinuating jealousies into the heads of the people, and by his fair speeches,

and those of his friends, he had disposed the nation to a rebellion. The first attempt that they made was upon the Duke of Somerset, whom they caused to be arrested in the queen's bedchamber, and sent him to the Tower of London, where he kept but a sad Christmas under the fears of his enemy's malice, who were preparing a bill of black accusations against him, to be ready for the parliament which was to meet soon.

The King was very sick, and hardly sensible when these things were done by the Duke of York, to whom, as some write, the Regency of the Kingdom was committed by the council during the King's weakness and by virtue of this authority it was, that he called the parliament to meet a few weeks after Christmas, and there openly, before all the Lords and commons assembled, accused the Duke of Somerset of high treason, and many other heinous crimes, as the loss of Normandy, and the late mischance which happened in Buienne. And he accused likewise Thomas Earl of Devonshire of high treason; but he was acquitted of the same by his peers, before Humphry Duke of Buckingham, High Steward of England, for the time being, because he not only protested his loyalty, but referred farther trial with the Duke of York his accuser, as a knight should do; by which is meant, by combat. Sir Edward Coke says, it was before Humphry Duke of Gloucester; but he was dead before that time.

The Queen, who was as intent for the deliverance of the Duke of Somerset, as his enemies were on his destruction had so contrived matters that nothing should be done against him for the King being somewhat amended and come well to his senses, she caused him, though very weak, to be carried to the houses, and there to dissolve the parliament for the present; and so nothing was determined in the matter. This being done, Somerset was immediately set at liberty; and that he might be out of the reach of his enemies, he was made Captain of Calais and Guisnes, the only parts of France that remained in the King's hands. The Duke of York being enraged at his second disappointment, grew resolute to revenge himself by arms; and having obtained an absolution from his former oath from the Pope, went into Wales, accompanied with his special friends, the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick, the Lord Cobham, and others, to gather another army and come up to London; which being known to the King and his party, they prepared what aids they could for their own defence, and having got together a body of about two thousand men, the King himself in person, with the Dukes of Somerset and Buckingham, the Earls of Northumberland, Dorset, Devonshire, Wiltshire, and Pembroke, left London; because it was thought the Duke of York had too many friends there; and marched, May 21, to meet and engage him by the way. They came the first night to Watford, and the next day to St. Albans, where hearing of the approach of the Duke of York, the King encamped, and pitched his standard in a place called Boslow, or Sandiford, in St. Peter's Street. The Duke of York by his spies knew all the King's motion, but still kept on his March to St. Albans, had encamped in Keyfield near the said town. The King and the Duke being thus in sight of one another with their forces the King, after his peaceable manner, sends messengers to the Duke, (though others say the Duke first sent letters to the King) viz. the Duke of Buckingham and other nobles, to know of him what he meant by appearing in such a hostile manner, to the disturbance of the peace and quiet of the nation, contrary to his former oath and promises, The Duke of York made answer, among other things, that he came to require that wicked and haughty man, the Duke of Somerset, who had lost Normandy, neglected Gascoigne, and brought the Realm

into this miserable state. The King hearing this answer grew angry, and told the messengers from the Lords, That he would not deliver up the Duke of Somerset, nor any man in his army to his enemies, who had faithfully adhered to him against them; commanding them all to lay aside their arms, and threatening them to hang them as a terrour to others, if they should dare to appear or fight against him. As soon as the Duke of York received this answer, he turned himself to his men, and said, since our sovereign Lord will not be reformed by our entreaties, nor understand the intention of our meeting together, but is fully purposed to destroy us, and has confirmed his resolution with a great oath, let us consider the danger we are in, and, to avoid this mischief, quit ourselves like men, and rather die with our swords in our hands, than to be put to an ignominious death, and shame ourselves and our posterity; and so gave order to sound for the battle. But while these things were doing at one end of the towns the Earl of Warwick arrived with his march-men at the other, and with great fury fell upon the King's vanguard, which having routed, before the Duke of Somerset could come to relieve it, he broke into the town about the middle of St.Peter's Street, The Duke of York seeing that, fell on with so much slaughter, that it was thought that there would not be a man of either side left alive. But the Duke of York being much the stronger sides and having kept back a certain number of men to renew the battle when the rest were wearied and tired, he so ordered the matter at last, that the victory became entirely his. The King's army was routed with the loss of eight hundred of his men; among whom were Edmund Duke of Somerset, Henry Earl of Northumberland, Humphry Earl of Stafford, son to the Duke of Buckingham, John Lord Clifford, and many other persons of note. The King, though none of the best warriors, remained 'till the last; but seeing himself forsaken, retire into a poor man's house; but he could not lie hid long; the Duke of York had notice where he was, and immediately went to him, with the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick, and having the King in their power conducted him, with great honour and reverence, to St.Alban's shrine, and after to his lodgings, where he rested that night. The next day they removed with the King to London, and took up their abode in the Bishop's palace, concluding there to call a parliament, to settle and compose all things for the good of the King and his people. This battle of St.Albans was fought May 23, 33 Henry VI. 1455.

The parliament met, as by appointment of the King and Lords, July 9, and settled all things according to the Lords minds; and it was ordered in parliament, that the Duke of York should be protector of the realm; That the Earl of Salisbury should be Lord Chancellor, and to that end the great seal was delivered to him; and the Earl of Warwick was made Governour of Calais; and so all authority, both civil and military, was, in a manner, put into the hands of the Lords, and Henry had only left him the name of a King.

And the Lords displaced all such persons from offices of trust in the court, and from the privy council, as the King loved, or the Queen favoured, and that had any principles of loyalty, or had been supporters of the Lancastrian line. Upon this the Earl of Devonshire retired into the country.

In that same year, there happened out a great quarrel between the Earl of Devonshire and the Lord Bonvill about a dog, which Mr.Westcot says could by no mediation of friends be qualified or appeased, until it was valiantly tried by a duel on Clift-heath near Exeter, which was manfully performed by both parties; and after they had well tried one another's strength

and valour, they at last lovingly agreed, and embraced each other, and ever after there was a great love and amity between them; so says Mr. Westcot. But Hollingshed and others do say, that several men on both sides were slain in the quarrel, and that the Lord Bonville prevailed and went to Exeter, and had the gates opened to him. And this is most likely to be true; for there was a great animosity between those two great men before this quarrel happened, they being engaged in different parties: the Earl of Devonshire was zealous for the House of Lancaster, and the Lord Bonville for the House of York, and the Civil War between these two houses did then begin to break out; and no wonder the city of Exeter opened its gates to the Lord Bonville, for the Duke of York had at that time all the power in his hands, and no doubt the city favoured those of the prevailing side. But whoever had the better of it in this quarrel, both the Earl of Devonshire and Lord Bonville were great sufferers by that bloody and unnatural war, for the Earl's three sons, successively Earls of Devon, lost their lives in that quarrel for the House of Lancaster; and it is said by some that the Earl himself came to an untimely end by it. And the Lord Bonville lost both his son and grand-son in the Battle of Wakefield, and the Lord himself was put to death after the second Battle of St. Albans. The Earl's family became extinct, as to the first branch of that illustrious house and the Lord Bonville's became wholly extinct. In Dugdale's Baronage, Vol II. fol. 236. there is mention made of this quarrel between the Earl of Devonshire and the Lord Bonville; and, according to his, it was not so much about a dog, but it was upon another account, in which the whole kingdom was concerned, viz. upon account of the quarrel between the House of York and Lancaster; as I said before, And in this 33d year of Henry VI. there is mention made in the parliament rolls of several riots and murders in the West, by the Earl of Devonshire and the Lord Bonville; so that Devonshire did feel some of the effects of that devouring war.

In the 34th year of the King's reign, the Lords of the Lancastrian faction evidently seeing the Duke's actions did tend towards the crown, thought it for their own safety to join with the Queen in pulling him down from his usurped authority and to that end they all met in a great council at Greenwich, by the Queen's appointment, and, after a full debate upon what had passed, came to this resolution That the King was no child, and consequently needed no tutor; but it being a reproach to his majesty to be governed at the discretion of others, the Duke of York should be put out of the protectorship, which he had so injuriously assumed, and the Earl of Salisbury deprived of his Chancellorship which the King being very easily persuaded to, an express order under the King's seal was dispatched to them to resign their offices.

The Duke of York was amazed at this sudden turn of affairs; but since it was an undoubted prerogative of the crown to place or displace the officers of it as he pleased, he dared not oppose it, lest he should be plainly guilty of rebellion and so with a feigned patience he yielded to it, though to the great discontent of his own party, but immediately left the court, as if being discharged from publick business he would retire to attend his private, having still in his mind the same designs of raising himself to the throne, as well as of revenging the affront, when opportunity offered itself, The Queen, who was as suspicious and watchful as her enemies were active, was very busy to countermine all their contrivances and plots, and because she had some fears that the City of London was false to the King's interest, she caused the King to remove the Court from Westminster

to Coventry in Warwickshire, under the pretence of taking the air, and spending some time in the pastimes of hawking, and hunting, and with the King there went the Earl of Devonshire, and there they spent a considerable time.

In the year 1458, 36.Henry VI. King Henry and his council observing that the Lords of the York faction seemed to have a desire of peace, the King returned to London about Christmas, and soon after his arrival summoned a great council, and there freely and openly declared, that it was his desire that a reconciliation should be made with all convenient speed: and therefore, pursuant to his order, certain persons of quality, who were judged fittest to mediate between the King and Duke of York, were dispatched to the Lords of the York faction, to command them to repair to the King's court without delay, there to treat with the King about a pacification of all parties, for the good of the publick.

This message was accepted by the Lords with all readiness, and accordingly the Lords of both sides came to London, with great retinues and companies of armed men: and the Queen, and the nobles with her (amongst whom was the Earl of Devonshire) went from Coventry to London to be present at this great assembly and when they were come as far as Abington, the Earl of Devonshire fell sick, and died in the Abbey; poisoned, as it is said: and it is not unlikely; for the Earl being a man of great power and interest in the West, some of the York faction, whose enmity to the Earl was very great, might hire some about him to take away his life. He died on the Feast of St. Blase, February 3, 36 Henry VI. Anna 1458, says Dugdale, Stow, and Camden; but some other Historians do say, that he, together with his son Thomas, was slain in the Battle of Towtonfield; which was not 'till three years afters but it is most likely that he died this year; and Dr. Heylin says that his son Thomas came to the Earldom this year.

He married Margaret Beaufort, second daughter to John Earl of Somerset, who was eldest son of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, by his third wife; so that as his Uncle Edward Lord Courtenay married the sister of her that was heiress of the House of York, and from whom was descended Edward IV. so this Thomas Earl of Devonshire married the daughter of John Earl of Somerset, from which Earl was descended Margaret Countess of Richmond, mother to King Henry VII. by whom King Henry had the right of the House of Lancaster. Her eldest sister, Janet was married to James King of Scotland, The History of England says, that he married a daughter of Edmund Duke of Somerset, who was slain in the first Battle of St. Albans, but it is a mistake.

This Thomas Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire, had by his wife, I. Thomas, second of that name, Earl of Devonshire; 2. Henry, first of that name Earl of Devonshire after his brother; 3. John, first of that name, Earl of Devonshire; all three slain in the Wars between the Houses of York and Lancaster; 4. Joan Courtenay, married to Sir Roger Clifford, Knight, who was beheaded upon Tower-Hill, 3 Richard III. 1485; 5. Elizabeth, married to Sir Hugh Conway, Knight; and three other daughters, Anne, Matilda, and Eleanor, all dying without issue.

This Thomas Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire, when King Henry VI. founded Kings-College in Cambridge, and Eaton-College near Windsor, did, in all probability, got one portion of the Rectory of Tiverton to be appropriated,

and did give it to Kings-College; as also he did give the perpetual advowson of Samford-Courtenay in Devonshire to the same College; as also the perpetual advowson of the Rectory of Wotton-Courtenay unto Eaton-College; for they were his; and this Earl was great with King Henry VI. and the King made him one of his feoffees for those lands which he endowed these colleges with. But Sir William Pole says, that Samford Courtenay was given to the College by King Henry VIII. after the attainder of the Marquess of Exeter.

The Arms of Beaufort were, Quarterly France and England, a Border Gobony, Argent and Azure.

CHAPTER XVI.

Thomas Courtenay, second of that name, Earl of Devonshire, was twenty six years old when his father died, and shortly after his father's death had livery of his lands doing his homage,

About the time that this Earl came to the Earldom, there was a great meeting, as was said before, at London, of King Henry VI. and his friends, and of the Lords on the other side, about a peace and reconciliation at length, after many debates, and hot disputes on both sides; they promised to forgive all wrongs and injuries done on either side, and to be friends to each other, and obedient to the King; but upon certain conditions, which being set down in writing were signed, sealed, and delivered by both parties, March 23, 1458.

This agreement was sealed with the great seal at the King's palace at Westminster on the 24th of March, and the next day being openly proclaimed and published, was received with an universal joy, and a solemn procession celebrated by the King and court within the Cathedral-church of St. Paul's, London, in testimony and their thankfulness to GOD for this happy union. All things being thus concluded, the Lords parted from the King and Queen with all outward signs of friendship; but this union did not continue long; for,

In the month of November after, it happened, that as the Earl of Warwick sat in council in the palace royal at Westminster, one of the King's servants affronting a yeoman of the Earl's attendants, they fell to blows, and the quarrel grew so high, that the Earl was forced to get into his barge, and fly into the city, but several of his men were dangerously wounded. The Queen shewed more than ordinary concern in this affair, and as though had been engaged to make good the quarrel (which some from thence believed she was the mover of) commanded that the Earl should be apprehended and imprisoned in the Tower.

This the Earl being advertised of by some of his friends, feared to stay any longer in the city, and departed to Yorkshire, where he found the Duke of York and his father, the Earl of Salisbury, to whom he declared the occasion of his coming, and what danger he had escaped from the Queen and her servants which malicious intention, as he thought, was not to be passed by without just resentment, and he would leave it to their judgments to take such methods to do it as were proper whilst he should go over to Calais to secure that important

garrison for it was not to be doubted but the Queen would endeavour all that she could to wrest it out of his hands, and put it under the command of some of her friends; and so he posted away with all speed thither. Just as he arrived there, and had put all things in good order for his security, the Queen sent a messenger with an order under the privy seal to him, that he should resign the office of Captain of Calais, but the Earl of Warwick replied, that he was made Captain of Calais by authority of parliament, and would not resign his charge but into their hands that gave it him; and so he held out the garrison against her.

Whilst these things were doing at Calais, the Duke of York and Earl of Salisbury, with their friends, entered into consultation about the assault given to the Earl of Warwick, contrary to the last agreement made between the King and the Lords, and resolved that the Earl of Salisbury should take such troops of their attendants as were in readiness, which amounted to a body of about five thousand men, and should go up to London to the King, and make his complaint of the wrong done to his son the Earl of Warwick, and demand the satisfaction in reason due, which, if granted, he will lay down his arms; but, if denied, they said their future actions would be justified in the sight of all men. The Earl of Salisbury, according to this plan, began his March from Middleham, a little after Candlemas, 1459, and took his way through Lancashire to go towards London. The Duke of York in the mean time was to raise another army, and, as occasion required, to go to meet him, and so jointly oppose their enemies.

The Queen, who kept a watchful eye upon all the motions of the Lords, and at the first beginning of this contest imagined that the Earl of Warwick had purposely raised this combustion to set the crown upon the Duke of York's head, thought it now unnecessary to talk of any parleys, and therefore, by the advice of her counsellors, contrived to suppress them by force, and to this end dispatched orders in the King's name to James Touchet, Lord Audley, who was a very potent man in these countries, through which the Earl of Salisbury was to march, to raise an army with all speed, and by surprize to apprehend him. The Lord, who prosecuted his commission with due zeal and expeditions got a body together of ten thousand men out of Cheshire and Shropshire in a very short time. The King and Queen hearing in what readiness the Lord Audley was, came down towards him to be under his guard, as it were, and the King remained at Coleshill in Warwickshire; but the Queen lay Eccleshall in Staffordshire, expecting a good event of the undertaking,

The Lord Audley had intelligence of the Earl of Salisbury's motions, and hearing that he drew near him, ranged his men upon Blore-heath near Draiton in Shropshire, where the Earl was to pass, ready to receive him. The Earl of Salisbury not suspecting this opposition, was surpris'd at the first sight but considering that his retreat would be disgraceful to him, resolved to abide the battle, though much inferiour in strength, and did pitch his camp in front of the enemy, a small river, but pretty deep, being between them, and so remained the following night. In the morning, which was St. Tecla's Day, the Earl of Salisbury caused his men to shoot a great flight of arrows upon the Lord Audley's camp, and then ordered them to make a retreat, as though they intended to fly, which when the Lord Audley saw, he commanded his men to pass over the river, and pursue them, giving charge to them to take the Earl of Salisbury alive or dead, as the Queen had ordered him; but in the hurry and confusion

before half the army was got over, the Earl of Salisbury and his men returned in good order upon the Lord Audley's army, and fell upon them with great fury, which though they courageously opposed, yet, through disorder and surprize, they were after a sharp battle routed; and the Lord Audley and all his chief Captains slain, with about two thousand four hundred of the common soldiers.

The Duke of York having received the news of this victory, resolves no longer to conceal his intention and since the King and Queen sought his ruin as a competitor with them for the crown, he determined either to get it, or perish in the attempt, and therefore hastens to meet the Earl of Salisbury, that they might join their forces together: they wrote also to Calais to the Earl of Warwick, to bring over to their assistance some troops of his most experienced soldiers, which he had under the command of Andrew Trollop and John Blunt, two captains of great experience, which all being united in one body assembled in October, and encamped at Ludlow in Shropshire.

The King had intelligence of the Lords proceedings, and that he might put a stop to their further designs, sent out commissions into all parts of the nation where he had any friends, to raise an army with all speed to suppress them, which he had no great difficulty to do, because many out of love and duty to their King, but more out of fear of the Queen, flocked to his standard; so that he gathered a mighty army in a short space: with it the King in persons accompanied with the Dukes of Buckingham, Exeter, and Somerset, the Earl of Devonshire, and others of the nobility, who were favourers of the Lancastrian line, marched forwards towards the Lords, and came to Worcester, where staying a while to refresh their army, it was, after some consultation, agreed, that a messenger of some account should be sent to the Duke and Earls to offer them a free and general pardon, if they would lay down their arms and become obedient subjects; and accordingly the Bishop of Salisbury was sent to them the message.

The answer that the Lords gave did not at all please the King, and thereupon he commanded his standard to advance towards them but before he and his army came near the enemy, he received a letter from the Lords, dated October 10, which when read, he was not much better satisfied, but gave a second order for his army to march towards them; 'till coming within half a mile of their army, they pitched their camp, and the King immediately put out his proclamation, That whosoever would lay down their arms, and come over to him, and beg mercy, should be pardoned for this attempt: which act of grace being heard in the Duke of York's camp, begat a great discontent and murmuring, the generality of people fearing a bad issue of their rebellion. Trollop and Blunt, with their troops from Calais were amazed to see themselves engaged against their King whom they always had served, and in whose pay they still were; for the Earl of Warwick, who sent them over, had not declared to them the reason of their coming; wheretofore, as soon as they saw where they were, they fled the next night to the King's army; and by their example drew many others to do the like.

This sudden desertion of the Captains, in whom they did put most confidence; and of many of the people, was discouragement to the Lords to attempt any further; and so they resolved to provide for their own safety and depart. The Duke of York with his youngest son, Edmund Earl of Rutland, fled privately into Wales. The Earls of March, the Duke of York's eldest son, accompanied with the Earls of Salisbury, and Warwick,

and Sir John Wenlock, went into Devonshire; where, by the help of John Dinham, Esq; afterwards Treasurer of England, in Henry VIIth's days, they bought a ship at Exmouth for one hundred and ten marks, and sailed unto Guernsey and so to Calais. The news of their flight being carried to the King's camp, he sent out some troops of horse to pursue theme but all was in vain; they were got out of their reach, and so out of danger.

When King Henry was come to Coventry in his way home, he called a parliament to meet there, November 20, and being sent, they attainted of high treason Richard Duke of York, his eldest son Edward Earl of March, Richard Earl of Warwick, Edmund Earl of Rutland, Richard Earl of Salisbury, with many others; their goods were confiscated, their lands seised, and their heirs disinherited to the ninth generation. The Earl of Devonshire had, in consideration of his good services, and his firmly adhering to the King, an annuity of one hundred marks per annum for his life given him at that time, out of the profits of the manour and borough of Milvertan and Merswood, then forfeited to the crown by the rebellion, as it was then called, of the Duke of York; but he enjoyed it not long, and paid dearly for it, as the sequel of the History will shew.

In 1460, 28 Henry VI. the Earls of March, Warwick, and Salisbury, having sent the Lord Faulconbridge before with a declaration to be sent to the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, and dispersed up and down the maritime counties to prepare the people for their reception arrived at Sandwich from Calais with fifteen hundred men only, and were no sooner arrived but they were met by the Lord Cobham with four thousand men; and when they had refreshed themselves a few days, they marched through Kent to London, and before they entered the city, they were increased to forty thousand they entered London July 2, and were joyfully received by the Mayor and the whole city, whither also came the next day Thomas Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London, Lincoln, Salisbury, Ely and Exeter, with many other priors and religious persons, to congratulate their arrival, by whose means they hoped for a reformation of all abuses both in Church in State; though not such as followed.

The Queen at this time, (for the King hated wars, and would not mind his own defence) gathered a good army about Coventry, and making the Duke of Buckingham, the Duke of Somerset, and other Lords, Captains and Commanders of it, marched with it, having the King himself with them, to Northampton. Whilst the Queen was thus preparing for their own and the King's defence, the Lords at London were in great consultation how to proceed in their business; and they agreed, that the Earls of March and Warwick should march with an army of five and twenty thousand men towards the King and Queen, leaving behind them the Earl of Salisbury and Lord Cobham, to keep the Londoners in their promised obedience, When the King and Queen heard that the Earls of March and Warwick drew near them, it was advised, that the King's army should pass over the River Tyne, and encamp themselves strongly in the open field, and wait for their coming, which was accordingly done; and about two o'clock in the afternoon July 9, the two armies met.

The Battle lasted for five hours with great fierceness on both sides; at length, by the treachery of the Lord Grey, who went over to the enemy with a good party, the King's side was vanquished with the loss of ten thousand men, amongst whom were Hunphry Duke of Buckingham, John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, with other great men; the Duke of Somerset, with the

Earl of Devonshire, narrowly escaped the Queen and Prince Edward, and fled into the Bishoprick of Durham. The King himself, who remained in his tent during the battle, being left alone, fell into his enemies hands, and being led to Northampton with procession, he tarried there three days, and, on July 16, arrived at London, where he was lodged in the Bishop's palace.

The victorious Lords haying the King in their power, and ruling almost all thing at their pleasure, proceeded vigourously in the execution of their designs; and first called a parliament to meet at Westminster, October 8 following but in the King's name; and then sent to Ireland to the Duke of York to acquaint him with their good success, and to desire him with all convenient speed to sail into England; and he came into London, October 10, which he entered with trumpets sounding, and a naked sword borne before him, accompanied with a great train of armed men. The parliament was met two days before, and the Duke having passed through the city, went directly into the upper house, and placed himself in the King's seat, as if he had taken possession of the crown and kingdom.

When he had stood so a while in that posture, he turned himself to the Lords, and looked stedfastly upon them, as though he would read in their countenances their thoughts and resentments of that action; and while he was thus standing, Thomas Bourchier, Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, whom King Henry (who was then in the queen's lodgings) had sent to him, came into the house, and having paid the usual reverence, asked him, whether he would not go and see the King? The Duke at this question was observed to change his colour, and then answered him in a passion, That he knew none in this kingdom to whom that duty and honour did belong, but on the contrary all men owed it to him; and therefore King Henry ought to come to him. The Arch-Bishop having heard this reply, went back to the King to let him know its which the Duke of York perceiving, he rose up, and following him into the palace, got possession of the King's lodgings, breaking open several doors and locks, that he might enter them. He staid there but a little while, and then returned to the house again, leaving his servants to keep them for him, Being again settled in the royal throne, he boldly made his demand of the crown, and made a speech, in which he endeavoured to make out his right to it. His speech struck all the auditors with a kind of consternation, and the Lords themselves sat mute, neither whispering nor moving, as if in some discontent at what he had said, or at least in doubt what to do, The Duke of York was much disappointed when he saw no one seconding his wishes, and advised them to consider thoroughly what he had said to them, and do to him what in justice and wisdom they judged right, and so departed to his lodgings in the King's presence. Upon this many hot disputes passed between the Lords spiritual and temporal and commons about the settlement of the Crown; and at last, upon All-Saints Day, an agreement was made between those two Princes; that King Henry shall be taken and reputed King of England during his natural life; and that Richard Duke of York shall from thenceforth be called and reputed the very rightful heir to the English Crown; and after the decease of the said King Henry, the said Duke and his heirs shall immediately succeed to it that the Duke of York shall be protector of the realm for the future, and he called Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall and Earl of Chester.

And now the Duke of York's power begun, and he took care of all things, but chiefly of himself, how he might keep what he had obtained; for he very well knew that the Queen, who was of a masculine spirit, and the

the Lords of her Council, who were his utter enemies, would make all the opposition they could to this settlement, and either by force or fraud undo all. Whereupon he caused King Henry to send for the queen, and her son Prince Edward: But the Queen, who by that time the messengers were arrived was got at the head of a good army of twenty thousand men, which she put under the command of the Dukes of Exeter and Somerset, the Earls of Devonshire and Northumberland, Lords Clifford and Resse, who encouraged her with great hopes of victory to engage her adversaries, and restore her husband to his dignity, and her son to his succession refused to go with him; which when the protector had notice of, he assigned his trust friends, the Earl of Warwick and the Duke of Norfolk, to be keepers of the King, and he himself with the Earls of Galibury and Rutland, with a small body of men, departed from London December 2, to go into the North, to suppress the Queen and her northern adherents, ordering the Earl of March to follow him with all the forces he could gather, Upon Christmas-Eve the Duke arrived at his Castle of Sandal near Wakefield in Yorkshire, and there mustered up all his tenants and friends, to the number of five thousand with these he intended to oppose the queen's army, who by his scouts he understood were marching towards him, which the Queen and the Lords of her party hastened that they might fall upon him before the Earl of March could join him.

The Queen and her army came before the Castle, and having laid two ambushes under the care of the Lord Clifford and Earl of Wiltshire, to the best advantage, the Queen and Duke of Somerset, who commanded the body of the army, presented themselves in sight of Sandal, and going up to the very walls, braved the Duke to come out and fight them.

The Duke being hot and furious at this bravado, and counting it a shame to be shut up in a Castle by a woman, resolved to venture out in the open fields and give her battle. All his friends were much against it; but not being able to dissuade him from it, they all marched out of the castle upon the last day of December, and going down the hill in very good order, came into the open field before the face of their enemy, who immediately joined fight with them, Soon after the battle begun, the ambushes arose and encompassed the Duke and his men on every side, so that within half an hour he himself was slain, with many persons of note that were with him, amongst whom were the Lord Bonvil's son and grandson, and his whole army utterly defeated, two thousand eight hundred of them being slain.

The Earl of Salisbury was wounded and taken, with several gentlemen and others. Robert Aspell, the Duke's chaplain, and tutor to the Earl of Rutland, who stood at some distance to see the event of the battle with his pupil, who was then about twelve years of age, fled with the young Earl to secure his, but was overtaken by the Lord Clifford, who in the heat of his fury stabb'd the young Prince to the heart, though the poor child with tears begged mercy of him upon his knees; the Chaplain pleaded much for the child's life, and promised the Lord, that if he would spare him, he should be his servant for ever: But Clifford swore fearfully, that his father had slain his, (for the Lord Clifford's father was slain at the Battle of St. Albons) so he would be the destruction of him and all his race; and then slaying him, departed in triumph to find out the dead body of his father, whose head he cut off, and having made a crown of paper, and set it on the head in derision, presented it to the Queen, whose tent was at hand, and she not long after sent it with the heads of other Lords to be set upon poles over the gates of the City of York,

King Henry, by the instigation of his governours, the Duke of Norfolk and Earl of Warwick, sent commissioners into the parts about Coventry to raise what forces they could to suppress the northern rebels, as they called them, but like a torrent they came down upon them, plundering and robbing, so that they were now irresistible by any strength that could suddenly be gathered together, and passed on without controul, Whilst this was doing in the North, the Earl of March was gone into Wales, where his father had many tenants and dependents, to raise an army; and having heard of his father's death at Gloucester, where he then lay, was stangely amazed and discouraged but being comforted by his friends, who told him it was his father's rashness, not his enemies power, that was the cause of this misfortune, he took heart, and removed to Shrewsbury to follow the queen's army, which was marching towards London. The Queen hearing this, resolved that she herself, the Prince, the Duke of Somerset, and the Earl of Devonshire, should march towards London with the greatest part of the army; and Jasper Earl of Pembroke, and James Butler Earl of Ormond and Wiltshire, who raised a great number of Irish and Welch to the queen's assistance, should observe the Earl of March, and gather fresh forces out of her friends to encounter him. The Earl of March hearing that the Earls of Pembroke and Ormond with a great number of Welch and Irish were pursuing him, turned back to fight them, and on a large plain near Mortimer's Cross, on the east side of Hereford, met them: On Candlemas-day in the morning the two armies entered the battle, and after a short conflict the Earl of March put the queen's forces to flight, with the slaughter of three thousand eight hundred men; the two Earls of Pembroke and Ormond fled, and many gentlemen of note were taken; and to propitiate York's ghost, were beheaded at Hereford.

The queen, who was marching towards London, heard of the discomfiture of her friends, but being elevated with the thoughts of her former victory, and knowing that the Mayor and many of the chief son of London were for her, she went on confidently, in hopes of soon recovering the loss; but when she approached St. Albans, she heard that the Earl of Warwick and other Lords, who had the government of the King were coming against her, with a numerous army raised by the King's authority, and having the King himself at the head of them. The two armies joined upon Bernard-heath, on the north side of St. Albans. The battle was fierce, and the victory remained dubious a certain time; but at length, through the treachery of Lovelace, who kept back the main body of the King's army from assisting their brethren, 'till they being overpowered were forced to fly, the queen's side gained the victory, and with the slaughter of two thousand three hundred men, got the King into their power, with the Lord Bonvill and Sir Thomas Kiriell, who, upon the King's promise of safety to them, staid with his majesty, but to their cost; for the Queen, at the instance of the Duke of Exeter and the Earl of Devonshire, ordered their heads to be cut off, after the battle was ended, which was fought February 13.

The King and Queen with Prince Edwards now about eight years old, and the Lords, went to the Abbey-Church, and gave thanks unto GOD for this victory; and while the Queen lay at St. Albans, news came to her that the Earl of March, who had vanquished the Earls of Pembroke and Ormond, was Joined with the Earl of Warwick, and the forces that escaped from St. Albans, and that both were coming towards London, making a mighty army; the Queen; fearing their forces, thought fit not to oppose them, and so withdrew from St. Albans into the North.

The Earl of March having certain intelligence of the queen's departure, thought it not convenient to pursue her, but took his way directly towards London, and was there received with universal joy by all the commons, and many other citizens, February 28. His coming to London being known, the gentry of the south and east parts flocked to him, bringing great numbers to his assistance. In this concourse of people it was thought fit to settle matters fully, and place the Earl of March in the throne if possible; and to that end, March 2, the Earl of Warwick drawing up his army in St.John's Field, in the midst of throngs of people, whom he cast into a ring round him, read the agreement made the last parliament between King Henry and the Duke of York, which having told them was notoriously broken by King Henry, and so his crown forfeited, he demanded of them, Whether they would have King Henry to reign over them, or no? They all cried out, No! No! Then he again asked them, Whether they would have the Duke of York's eldest son to reign over them, according to that settlement? They unanimously cried out, Yea! yea!

The affection of the people being thus known, a general council of nobles, bishops, gentlemen, and chief citizens was summoned at Baynards-Castle, and there the Earl of March declared his title to the crown; and the whole council, after a long debate, unanimously named, elected, and admitted Edward, Earl of March, for the King and Governour of this realm; and he was the next day proclaimed King of England, by the name of Edward the Fourth, March 4, 1461. And thus ended the reign of Henry VI. many years before his death: A Prince very pious and religious, but always attended with ill-fortune.

Whilst this was doing at London, the Queen gathered in army together of sixty thousand men, and they all resolved with the expence of their blood to recover the crown to the House of Lancaster,

King Edward on the other side, as soon as he had finished matters at London, marched towards the queen; and when he was arrived at Pomfret, and part of his army, led by the Lord Fitzwelter, had possessed itself of Ferribrig, a passage over the River Aire, of great importance, the King, Queen, and Prince retired to York, and the army was committed to the charge of the Duke of Somerset, the Earls of Devonshire, Northumberland, and Lord Clifford; and amongst them it was resolved, that Ferribrig, in regard of the consequence of the place, was at any hazard to be recovered and the enterprize was left to the undertaking of the Lord Clifford, who early the next morning with a competent number marched thither, and with such diligence and secrecy, that before there was the least suspicion of an assault, the guard was entered upon and defeated: with the tumult the Lord Fitzwelter and the Bastard of Salisbury being awakened, rose hastily from their beds, and coming down encountered a merciless enemy, who denied all quarter, and on the place slew them. The Lord Falconbridge, and Sir Walter Blunt, who had the leading of the vanguard of King Edward's army, finding it impossible to obtain the passage of Ferribrig, on a sudden passed the river three miles above, at Castleford, and soon after, about Dindingdale, discovered the Lord Clifford, whom they suddenly overtook and encompassed, in vain, labouring to retire to the main battle; but he perceiving that there was no way to escape from his enemies, defended himself bravely with his small forces, even to the envy of them who overcame 'till he was shot with an arrow through the throat.

Next day, being Palm-Sunday, early in the morning, both armies came in sight: the field was between Caston and Towton, from the latter of which the battle after took name. It was about the hour of nine when the two armies drew near, sixty thousand for Lancaster, and scarce forty thousand for York; only the presence and courage of King Edward made an equality ten hours victory hung in suspense, but at length the field being stained with blood, the northern men fled; neither did they yield to the prevailing fortune of the enemy, until their courages were dismayed with sight of so many eminent persons slain before their eyes; for the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, the Lords Beaumont, Dacres, Grey, and Wells, and Andrew Trollop, who was famous in the French wars, and many other of great nobility were slain. The Dukes of Somerset and Exeter seeing all things desperate posted to York, to carry the fatal news of this overthrow to the unfortunate king. In no battle was there ever poured out so much English blood; for in this and the two precedent days were slain thirty six thousand seven hundred seventy six persons, all of one nation.

King Henry perceiving how desperate his hopes were in England, with the poor remains of his party secured himself by flight into Scotland. When King Edward came to York, where he hoped to have surprised King Henry, he saw the heads of Richard Duke of York, his father, and some other of his friends, set up over the gate of the city, at the sight of which being greatly incensed, he commanded that Thomas Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire, with three others taken in the former battler should be beheaded, and their heads put up in the place of the former: An action, saith the Historian, too much favouring of the antient heathen cruelty, the souls of Christians no way requiring their murders to be revenged, or their injuries appeased, with such an offering, Thus died Thomas Courtenay, second of that name, Earl of Devonshire, who stoutly adhered to the House of Lancaster; and I have been the more particular in transcribing the History of those civil wars, because this Earl was much concerned in them, was always with King Henry and his Queen, and was in many of the battles, and in the councils leading thereto. He enjoyed the Earldom but three years, and that in a most distracted and troublesome time, in which was several battles sought, and abundance of English blood spilt. This last battle was fought on Palm-Sunday, March 29, and the Earl was beheaded the April after, 1462: he died unmarried, and in the prime of his years, being not full thirty years old.

CHAPTER XVII.

Henry Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire, first of that name, was second son of Thomas, first of that name, Earl of Devonshire, and Margaret his wife, daughter of John Earl of Somerset, and grand-daughter of John a-Gaunt Duke of Lancaster.

King Edward after he had obtained that great victory at Towton, returned to London, and was received with great joy and acclamation, May 29, and was then crowned with great solemnity. On the 4th of November after, began a parliament at Westminster, in which King Henry and his Queen were disinherited of the crown, Henry Duke of

Exeter, Henry Duke of Somerset, Thomas Earl of Devonshire, and others, to the number of one hundred and forty, were attainted and their estates confiscated but in a little time after, Henry Duke of Somerset and Sir Ralph Piercy submitted to King Edward, and upon that had their honour and estates restored to them. The submission of these great men was as welcome to King Edward as a victory; and the same grace and favour was promised to all those that should follow the example of these great men: and the King did endeavour, as historians do observe, by all means possible, to win over to his side all those that had been zealous and resolute for the House of Lancaster; and presently after the attainder the King showed great favour and kindness to Henry Earl of Devonshire. Sir William Dugdale says, that Henry Courtenay, Esq; (for so he is called) found so much favour with King Edward, that on the 27th of July, in the first year of his reign, without any proof of his age, the King gave him the livery of the manour of Topsham, and of all other lands, tenements, boroughs and Lordships, which his brother was seised of at the time of his death, or Thomas Earl of Devon, father to them both; but it cannot be true that Henry Earl of Devonshire had all his lands restored to him; for it is said that King Edward, about the same time, gave to John Courtenay, brother to Henry, the manours of Exminster, Kenford and Kenn, in the hundred of Exminster in the County of Devon. Henry Earl of Devonshire then was never restored to the honours and the lands of his ancestors; neither does it appear that he ever submitted to King Edward; but the King freely gave him some part of the lands of his brother Thomas, as also some other parts to his brother, that he might, if possible, by these great favours win them to his side,

In the year 1463, Queen Margaret landed in the North, where having but small succours, she was forced to put to sea again, and by tempest was driven back to Berwick, where she landed, but lost her ship and goods. After this, the Queen having got some thin regiments of Scots entered Northumberland, her husband marching in the front, that the name and presence of King Henry might invite the people to their ancient service, and add authority to the design; which Henry Duke of Somerset and Sir Ralph Piercy hearing of, revolted from King Edward, and fled back again to King Henry.

John Nevil, Lord Montacute, was ordered to march against King Henry, and by the way the Lords Hungerford and Ross, and Sir Ralph Piercy, presented themselves to hinder his farther course; but after a little engagement they all fled, excepting Sir Ralph Piercy, who with his regiment fighting valiantly was cut off. The Lord Montacute, encouraged with this success, immediately marches to a plain called Levels; near the River Dowel in Hexhamshire, where King Henry's army was encamped which he suddenly assaults in the night, and routed it there were then taken the Duke of Somerset, the Lords Hungerford and Ross, and others: Somerset on the place lost his head; the rest were sent to Newcastle to suffer there the same punishment, but King Henry and his Queen escaped into Lancashire; and a little after, Thomas the son of Sir Edward Talbot of Lancashire apprehended King Henry, as he sate at dinner at Waddington-Hall in Lancashire; and forgetting all respect due to so great a Prince, guarded him up to London as a common malefactor with his legs tied under the horse's belly: by the way the Earl of Warwick met him, and arrested him, and, taking off his gilt spurs, led him prisoner to the Tower.

The miserable Queen made her retreat into France, and with her son Prince Edward fled to her father's court.

In the year 1465, the Earl of Warwick grow discontented, because when the King had sent him over to France, to treat of a marriage between the King and the Lady Bona, daughter to the Duke of Savoy, and sister to the French Queen, the King married of a sudden the Lady Elizabeth Gray: at this the Earl of Warwick enters into a conspiracy against King Edward, and draw in his brothers, the Arch-Bishop of York and the Marquess of Montacute: and with these agreed many eminent persons of King Edward's court, whom either desire of war, or want of expected recompence, had rendered discontented. All the partakers in the calamity in the House of Lancaster, at the first overture, most passionately embraced the motion, as men whom despair had made fit for the most hazardous attempti and it is probable, that Henry Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire, with the Lord Hungerford, whose father was put to death a little before, having still an affection for the House of Lancaster, might engage in the conspiracy for it is said, that the Earl of Devonshire, with the Lord Hungerford, about this time, viz. in the year 1466, on the 4th of March, was attainted of treason before the King's justices at Sarum, and the same day was beheaded.

It is said indeed, that Sir Humphry Stafford of Southwick procured the Earl's death, that he might be made Earl of Devonshire in his place: but we cannot suppose that he could procure it, unless the Earl had been proved, or at least suspected, guilty of conspiring against the government, for Humphry Stafford was presently upon the death of Henry Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire, made Earl in his stead; for Sir William Dugdale says, that in February, 1466, King Edward gave the borough of Tiverton, with a great part of the possessions of Thomas Earl of Devon that was attainted, to Sir Humphry Stafford of Southwick, and the heirs male of his body, and made him Earl of Devon; but he did not long enjoy this honour.

In 1468, the Earl of Warwick having married his daughter to the Duke of Clarence, King Edward's brother, and having drawn him into the conspiracy they both came into England, and openly professed and justified their resolution to rebel, The Arch-Bishop of York had wrought so diligently, that against their coming there appeared an army in the North, under the command of Henry son to the Lord Fitz-Hugh, and Henry Nevill son to the Lord Latimer, both near kin to the Earl of Warwick; both gentlemen great in blood and spirit; but in regard of their unexperienced youth, submitting themselves to the directions of Sir John Coniers, a commander bold in courage and sober in advice, they declared their design was to march to London, and to pull down that usurper, as they called King Edward, and to restore King Henry, their lawful monarch.

King Edward speedily sent to Sir William Herbert, whom he had made Earl of Pembroke, a commission to raise what Welch forces he could, and required him to give battle by the way, while he himself gathered as great an army as the present danger required. The Earl of Pembroke puts suddenly into the field, with his brother Sir Richard Herbert, having under their conduct seven thousand men; to them soon joined eight hundred bowmen, commanded by the Lord Stafford of Southwick, not long before made Earl of Devonshire.

With these forces the Earl of Pembroke resolved to hinder the rebels in their Journey, and having notice that they took their way by Northampton, he led the whole body of his army against them, having given order to Sir Richard Herbert, with two

thousand soldiers, to wheel about, and charge the enemy in the rear. Sir John Coniers had so carefully strengthened the rearward, that the Welch were repulsed with loss, and forced by flight to seek their safety; whereupon Sir Richard Herbert retired to his brother, and Sir John Coniers, diverted from his direct course to London, marched towards Warwick, where the Duke of Clarence and Earl of Warwick had levied a mighty host. The Earl of Pembroke followed him closely, expecting an opportunity of cutting off some part of the enemy, as they marched disorderly, or to give battle to the whole army: but while he was in this pursuit of glory, a small difference between his and the Lord Stafford ruined the whole attempt; for he oncamping at Banbury, a question arose concerning an inn, to which Stafford pretended, as having long used the house; but the Earl of Pembroke, In regard of his preheminnce, as general, was resolved to lodge in it. This so trivial distaste iif there was no farther treason in it) grew so high, that Stafford withdrew himself and his English archers. The rebels, who soon had notice of this unhappy discord, gave the Earl's camp next morning a sudden assault: The Welch received the charge so stoutly, that they took Sir Henry Neville the leader; but, guilty of too much barbarity, most cruelly slow him in cold blood, by which act they raised so fierce a desire of revenge in the enemy, that the next day they gave the Earl battle, and the fight was long and cruel, but at last the Welchmen fled: in the battle five thousand of the Welch were slain, and, among the prisoners, the Earl of Pembroke and Sir Richard Herbert were taken, "hose heads were soon after sacrificed upon the scaffold to the ghost of Neville: neither did the Lord Stafford, the author of this overthrow, escape condign punishment for by diligent enquiry, made by King Edward's order, he was found at Brent, near the River Axe in Somersetshire, and carried to Bridgwater, and there beheaded, enjoying but a little time that honour and estate which he got by procuring the death of the right owner; and he was in derision called the Earl of three months standing and no more.

CHAPTER XVIII.

John Courtenay, first of that name, Earl of Devonshire, was son of Thomas Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire, and Margaret Beaufort his wife, and brother to the two last Earls. King Edward, as was said before, immediately after the attainder of his elder brother Thomas, was very kind to him, and gave him the manours of Exminsters Kenn, and Kenford, to try whether he could bring him off from adhering to the house of Lancaster, but he could not: and at another time the King gave him the manour of Columb-John, and other manours; but he continued firm to the house of Lancaster to the last.

The defeat given to the Earl of Pembroke, that we mentioned in our last chapter, together with the Earl of Warwick's openly professing himself head to a vast body of rebels, struck astonishment into King Edward's army, and made the King himself inclined to end all dissention with the Earl of Warwick by a treaty; and whilst the treaty was carrying on, the two armies lying near one the other, the Earl of Warwick observing the ill discipline of the King's army, takes the advantage, suddenly sets upon the King's camp, kills the watch, and in the dead

time of night, at Wollny, within four miles of Warwick, surprises the King's person in bed, and presently sent him away at Middleham-Castle in Yorkshire, there to be kept by his brother the Arch-Bishop of that see: and the King having been a prisoner there for some time, he obtained leaves upon the account of his health; to hunt in the adjoining park, and so contrived the matter with Sir William Stanley and Sir Thomas Burgh, that they came to his rescue with a number superiour to those that guarded him, and with them he escapes to York, and so to Lancaster, where the Lord Hastings had gathered some forces; with these he marched directly to London, his forces still Increasing as he went. The Earl of Warwick having intelligence of the King's escape, and having disbanded his army, was much perplexed, and directed his letters to all the Lords of the faction, and advised them to re-assemble for the common safety. Some good men, in the mean time, laboured all that they could to procure a peace, and in fine they brought both parties to an interview in Westminster-hall: but no sooner was the Earl of Warwick, who came accompanied with the Duke of Clarence, wished to express his desires, but he fell into a bold expostulation of injuries and his language was so insolent, that the King full of indignation departed the hall, and immediately went to Canterbury, and, on the other side, the Earl wild in his anger posted away to Lincoln. The King hearing that the greatest part of the Earl's forces were under the command of Sir Robert Wells, sent to his father to meet him: the Lord Wells, with his brother-in-law Sir Thomas Dimock, went to wait upon the King: when they were come, the King advised the Lord Wells to send to his son, and perswade him to cease from his rebellion, and become a true subject: the Lord Wells did accordingly; but Sir Robert in his answer was so far from complying with his father's commands, that he justified what he had done; whereupon the King was so incensed, that he presently caused the Lord Wells and Sir Thomas Dimock to be beheaded at Stamford, The report of this execution, blasted very much the reputation of the King, and begat nothing but rage and revenge transported him too far, he was enclosed by them, and taken prisoner with sixty seven more upon the placher and in the flight were slain ten thousand men, and the prisoners were immediately executed. This overthrow forced Warwick to new resolution for his main forces being by the precipitancy of the commander destroyed, he foresaw he could not suddenly recover an army to give the King battle, and if he should stay in the country, he was in danger of being surprised whereupon liesurely, (for his great spirit disdained any thing that should look like a flight he retired to Exeter, where having dismissed the remainder of those troops that attended him, he went to Dartmouth, and there with many ladies in his company, and a large retinue, he took ship, and sailed directly to Calais. But Monsieur de Vauclere, Lieutenant of the town, refused his Captain entrance, professing, that however he owed his present command to Warwick's bounty, his loyalty to his King did cancel all inferiour obligations. The Earl being denied admittance into Calais, steered his course to Diep, and no sooner was he landed there, but he was most solemnly invited to the Castle of Ambois, where King Lewis then kept his court, The ceremonies of their first meeting being over, they entered into council how to renew the war, and restore King Henry; and

and by the King of France's importunity, Queen Margaret, who hither-to had lived in Exile in France, and now upon the King's invitation came to court, was perfectly reconciled to the Earl of Warwick; and that there might not be left any footsteps of former discontents, or room for future jealousy, a marriage was concluded, and celebrated, between Prince Edward, the Queen's son, and the Lady Anne, younger daughter to the Earl: and on this marriage it was agreed, that King Edward should be desposed; and King Henry re-entron'd, and the crown to be entailed upon Prince Edward; and for default of his issue, to come to the Duke of Clarence and his posterity. According to this agreement# the Earl of Warwick with this retinue; conducted by the Bastard of Bourbon, admiral of France\$ sailed back into England, King Lewis having supplied him with monies and for soldiers he needed no foreign levies, his name and faction were so great at home. George Duke of Clarence, the Earls of Warwick, Pembroke and Oxford, with others, arrived at Plymouth, and another party at Dartmouth, and being all joined they marched to Exeter. Upon the news of the Earl's landing, the people began to revolt from King Edward, and with the first got away the Arch-Bishop of York, who had been lately reconciled to the King, and the Marquess of Montacute his brother. The treachery of Montacute, who having raised in King Edward's name six thousand men, and turned now with them to the Earl of Warwick, and the general defection of the land, threw the King down into extream despair; for those few Lords who constantly adhered to his declining fortune commanded over so small a number, that to resolve upon a battle was to betray themselves to slaughter the King therefore fled away towards Lincolnshire, and so hardly escaped to Lynn; from thence, with a great deal of difficulty, he sailed into Holland, and from thence went to the court of the Duke of Burgundy, who had married his sister. After King Edward was gone, King Henry being set at liberty, went in procession to St.Paul's chursh., the clergy, nobility and commonalty, acknowledging all obedience to him; and in a little time a parliament was called, in which King Edward and all his adherents were attainted of high treason, their lands and goods confiscated, and then was the crown intailed upon King Henry, and his heirs male; and in default of such, upon George Duke of Clarence, and his heirs for ever: and then were the Earls of Oxford, Pembroke, Devonshire, and many others restored to their estates and titles, and the government of the King and kingdom committed to the Duke of Clarence, and Earl of Warwick.

Queen Margaret was sent to come over to England with her son Prince Edward, and partake of this good fortune; but whatever hindered her, she did not arrive 'till all things were turned upside-down again, the Earl of Warwick slain, and his army routed,

King Edward all this while was in the Duke of Burgundy's court, where he had fled for protection but he found that he had worn out his welcome, and that he began to be flighted and neglected; whereupon he desired leave of the Duke of Burgundy to return to England, and prevailed with the Duke at last to let him go, and under-hand supplied him with a large sum of money, and some men. At Ravensport in Yorkshire he landed on the 12 of March, where the people, naturally devoted to the house of Lancaster, were all against him, but had not courage with their arms to oppose him: He marches to York, where the magistrates shut the gates against him; and when he saw the people so confirmed in their obedience to King Henry, he despaired of ever recovering the crown; and then declared, That he came only to recover the estate that did belong to him as Duke of York.

Upon which, the city of York took pity upon him, and let him into the city, and he solemnly swore, that he would never attempt the obtaining the kingdom, Leaving then a garrison in York he marches towards London, and on his march many of the nobility with their forces repaired to him; and when he was at Nottingham, they perswaded him, now he had got a good army together, not to declare for the Dutchy of York, but for the crown of England: and so being proclaimed King again he marched directly to Coventry, being desirous of giving the Earl of Warwick battle, who was there encamped but no provocation could bring the Earl of Warwick from his trenches, for the Marquess Montecute was not returned from the north and the Duke of Clarence, who was often and earnestly solicited to join his army, refused it, and kept himself apart. The King therefore perceiving that nothing could move the Earl of Warwick to fight, marches against the Duke of Clarence; and when the armies drew near, the Duke of Gloucester and other nobles went between the King and his brother the Duke of Clarence, and pretended to endeavour to make a reconciliation between them, but the thing was privately done before, and the Duke of Clarence submitting himself to the King, brought over to him all his forces, which he had raised upon the reputation of the Earl of Warwick more than upon his own: but that the Duke of Clarence in his agreement might not forget the office of a son-in-law and a friend, he jointly with the King sent to the Earl of Warwick to enter into a league with them, and as for conditions, he himself should send down his own. But the Earl of Warwick had a heart too stubborn to bow to any conditions which he himself had not been the first proposer of, and rejected all offers of reconciliation, and resolved to be revenged or die. Whereupon, King Edward seeing he could not bring the Earl of Warwick to terms, left him obstinate to the prosecuting of his own designs, and accompanied with the Duke of Clarence, and followed by a gallant army, marched to London, where, after a little shew of resistance, the citizens yielded up to him the city, together with the person of King Henry, who was reserved still to be made the sport of fortune, and was sent again to the Tower; and having settled the city in their obedience, he led forth his army to oppose the Earl of Warwick, who having reunited his scattered forces by easy marches was come to St. Albans. The King interposed his army between the city and the enemy, thereby to cut off all possibility of intelligence and he took with him King Henry to the battle, that his presence might not be an occasion of a tumult in London. Upon a plain near Barnet, the midway between London and St. Albans, the King pitched his camp. It was Easter-day in the morning, April 14, when both armies prepared for the fightt six hours the victory was doubtful, 'till at length error brought disorder to Warwick's army, and that, a fatal overthrow for the Earl of Oxford giving his men a star with streams for his badge, begot in the army a mistake that they were part of the enemy, whose badge was the sun, which mistake might easily happen through a thick mist that was that morning; wheretofore being in the right wing, and passing forward, they were thought to be King Edward's men flying, which made their own main battle fall heavily upon them in the back; whereupon, Oxford suspecting treason in Warwick, fled away with eight hundred men; and King Edward perceiving disorder in the enemy, violently assaulted them, and soon force them to give backs Warwick opposed against their fear, language and example; but when he saw nothing would prevail, he rushed into the thickest of his enemies: Montacute seeing how far into danger his brother was engaged, ran violently after to his rescue, and both

both presently oppressed with numbers fell, and with them the spirit of the army, which thereupon immediately fled. King Edward, as soon as he saw the discomfiture of the army, and had certain knowledge that the two brothers were dead, posted up to London, with King Henry in his company, and went into St. Paul's Church at evening prayer, and there offered up his own banner, and the banner of the Earl of Warwick. The dead bodies of Warwick and Montecute he ordered to be exposed three days, barefac'd, in St. Paul's church-yard, and were afterwards carried down to the Priory of Bisham in Berkshire, and buried amongst their ancestors.

Queen Margaret, now it was too late, landed at Weymouth in Dorsetshire, upon the same day the battle was fought at Barnet, having in her retinue some French force; and here, when she expected to receive the acclamations of triumphs she first received the news of Warwick being slain, and his army defeated which when she heard, her courage failed her, and she fell into a swoon. At length despair forced her to the common poor refuge of a monastery; and in Bewly in Hampshire, a monastery of Cistercian monks, she registered herself, her son, and her followers, for person privileged so says the History of England; but Stow says she went to an Abbey near Weymouth, called Cerne.

There came to her Edward Duke of Somerset, who had escaped from the overthrow at Barnet, his brother the Lord John Beaufort, John Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire, Jasper Earl of Pembroke, the Lord Prior of St. John's, and John Lord Wenlock. These noble personages laboured what they could, by their advice and presence, to raise up the queen, sunk with the weight of her misfortunes they represented to her the authority that the Duke of Somerset; the Earl of Devonshire, and the Lords Prior and Wenlock had in England, and the multitudes Pembroke might arm in Wales; but above all, what a confluence of the boldest youth there would be to the Prince, would he but take the field, and appear in his own quarrel: but the queen, when she perceived the Lords earnest to have the Prince present in the battle, violently opposed it, in respect of his youth, want of experience, and the mighty venture that she did run in it: she therefore urged earnestly to have him conveyed back into France; but the contrary opinion prevailed, and she was persuaded to let the Prince be in the army: and having come to this resolution, she leaves the sanctuary and puts herself in arms. The very name of Prince Edward attracted multitudes to the war; and the Duke of Somerset and the Earl of Devonshire, the more to encourage the western countries to join with them, repaired to Exeter, where they sent for Sir Hugh Courtenay and Sir John Arundel, and many others, in whom they had confidence and in short they wrote to them so effectually that they raised the whole power of Devonshire and Cornwall. The Queen advanced to Bath, where the Duke of Somerset and the Earl of Devonshire were in great reputation and by their authority new forces came daily in to the Prince's assistance; yet they were not grown to so full a number as might encourage the Queen to think upon a battler whereupon she keeps herself in the town 'till the coming of the Earl of Pembroke, and when his forces had joined her, she resolved to take the field and encounter King Edward.

When the King had notice of her resolutions, he gathered his army together, and with such unexpected suddenness he made his preparations, that before the return of the Earl of Pembroke, he encamped at Marleborough. This near approach of King Edward distracted the resolutions of the Queen, and made her suspect her safety, if she remained any longer at Bath;

wherefore she retired to Bristol, from whence she sent to the Lord Beauchamp of Powyke, who had the keeping both of the City and Castle of Gloucester, to desire passage over the Severn there; but he refused her, and forced her to march up to Tewksbury, there to endeavour to cross the river: but when she found herself so closely pursued by King Edward, that before she could reach Tewksbury, he with his horse were in sight, despair seized her, so that she began only to look which way to fly: and indeed to that extremity was her business reduced, that there was left no other hopes of safety, the King having so much odds in courage and number: but the Duke of Somerset prevailed against her fears, and the sober opinion of most of the best commanders upon which, neglecting to escape at first in to Wales, where the Earl of Pembroke had raised mighty forces for her service, she was soon by the King forced to yield or endure a battle, whereupon she resolved to fight it out that day; which battle was the last, and that which decided the great quarrel between the two houses. The Duke of Somerset pitched his field in a park adjoining to the town, and entrenched his camp round so high, and so strong, that the enemy could on no side force it; and when he perceived an inevitable necessity of fighting, he marshalled his host for the service. The forward he and his brother commanded the Earl of Devonshire the rear; in the main battle was the Prince, under the direction of the Lord Prior and the Lord Wenlock. The Queen seeing the hour draw near, took the Prince with her, and rode about the army: in her looks appeared nothing but life and resolution; in her language almost an appearance of Victory; so cunningly she concealed the wound that her despair had given her, that then only it bled inward. The soldiers generally appeared resolved against the sharpest danger, receiving her words with much alacrity; and as soon as the signal was given, they bravely repulsed the Duke of Gloucester, who, having the leading of the King's vanguard, had assailed the queen's camp: upon which repulses the Duke of Somerset seeing Gloucester retire, with some appearance of flight, (an appearance indeed it was only to betray the enemy) ran after so far in the pursuit, that there was no safety in the retreat; then did Gloucester on the sudden turn back upon him, and having by this deceit enticed him from his trenches, he cut all the vanguard in pieces: The Lord Wenlock, who had the conduct of the main battle, and whom it concerned to have relieved the Duke, only looking on: Somerset enraged with this discomfiture, and having Wenlock's faith in some jealousy, upon his escape, upbraided him with the most ignominious terms of cowardice and treason; and, transported by the heat of passion, with an axe he had in his hands struck out his brains. This outrage begat nothing but disorder in the Queen's army; and so great grew the confusion, that no man knew whom to obey, or how or where to make resistance against the enemy. The King took advantage of this uproar, and by it gained a most entire victory; for entering without any opposition the Queen's trenches, he committed a most cruel slaughter on all who resisted, There were slain that day three thousand of the common soldiers, and with them the Earl of Devonshire, the Lord John Beaufort, and some other gentlemen of name; the thick woods of the park preserved some, and the sanctuary others, and them only for a time; for King Edward with his sword drawn would have entered the church, and forced them thence, but a good priest, careful to maintain the immunities of the place, with the Eucharist in his hand, opposed the violence, and would not let him enter, until he had granted a free pardon: but this pardon betrayed them; for on the Monday after,

they were taken out and beheaded in the market-place at Tewksbury; among whom, those of principal note, were, the Duke of Somerset and the Lord Prior of St.John's, and many other knights of great reputation and fortune. The Queen, half-dead in her chariot, was taken in the battle, and not long after the Prince was brought prisoner to the King by Sir Richard Crofts: The King immediately ordered the Prince to be brought into his presence, and entertained him with some shew of courtesy and entered into discourse with him, and asked him, What made him enter into so rash an enterprize, as to take up arms against him? He answered, That to recover his father, miserably oppressed, and the Crown violently usurped, he had taken arms. The King hearing this, with a look full of indignation, turned from him, and disdainfully thrust him away with his gauntlet which being observed, the Dukes of Clarence and Blocester, the Marquess of Dorset, and the Lord Hastings, seized suddenly upon the Prince, and with their Poniards most barbarously murdered him.

This Battle of Tewksbury was fought May 4, 1471, and in it the Earl of Devonshire being slain, there was an end put the first branch of the illustrious Family of Courtenay in England: The father and three sons, all successively Earls of Devonshire, witnessed, says Trussell with the loss of their best blood, their true affection to the House of Lancaster.

Sir William Dugdale says, that this last Earl of buried at Tewksbury, as most likely he was.

As to the great estate that did belong to this Earldom; some of the Manours King Edward bestowed upon one John Lambert, after the death of Henry Courtenay; but the bulk of the estate was conferred upon Humphry Stafford of Southwick in Hampshire, with the title of Earl of Devonshire, who enjoyed them but a little while. After his death, King Edward granted to the Lord Dinham the stewardship of all the honours, castles, manours, and boroughs of Plympton, Okehampton, etc. And after the death of John Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire, the King gave to this Lord Dinham the estates that he did possess; and the King granted to Walter Lord Montjoy some other estates belonging to this Earldom, and the money paid by the sheriff as the third penny of the county, 181. 6s. 0d. And in the 14th of Edward IV. a grant was made to George Duke of Clarence of the Manour of Samford-Courtenay, and other lands in Devonshire; of the Manours of Samford-Courteney, and other lands in Devonshire; of the Manours of Iwerne-Courtenay, and other lands in Dorsetshire. It may not be wholly beside the matter, saith Mr. Rowe, to observe, that the failure of those estates in blood of the patentees did make way for the plenary restitution thereof which ensued, The Act of Resumption, I Henry VII. expressly makes void what grants were made by Edward IV. any way touching the Earl of Devonshire.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER 1.

Sir Hugh Courtenay of Haccomb was younger brother of Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire, commonly called the Blind Earl, and youngest son of Sir Edward Courtenay, fourth son of Hugh Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire, and Margaret Bohuns grand-daughter to Edward I. King of England. John the last Earl being slain, as we have seen, in the Battle of Tewksbury, who was great-grand-son to Edward the Blind Earl, this Sir Hugh was next in descent. Edward Earl of Devonshire, his brother, in the first year of Henry V. gave unto him the Manours of Botherington, Stancom-Dauney, and South-Allington, in the County of Devon, which came to the Earl by his mother Emma, daughter of Sir John Dauney.

In 18th Richard II. he was, together with Sir Philip Courtenay of Powderham, his uncle, Knight of the Shire for Devon. He was Sheriff of Devonshire in the sixth year of Henry V. and in the fourth year of Henry VI. he being then amongst others a guardian to Thomas Earl of Devonshire, then a minor, paid twenty shillings to Thomas Brocket, the Sheriff of Devonshire, as an homage to the King for the Manours of Colecomb, Coliton, and Whitford, with the Hundred of Coliton, in the County of Devon, and for the Manour of Crewkerne in the County of Somerset.

He had three wives; his first was Elizabeth daughter of Sir William Cogan of Baunton, and widow of Sir Fulk Fitzwarren; and from his living at Baunton he was first called Sir Hugh Courtenay of Baunton. His second wife was Philippa, daughter and one of the co-heirs of Sir Warren Archdeacon of Haccomb, Knight, and by her had one only daughter named Joan, who was first married to Sir Nicholas Baron-Carew of Mohuns-Autrey, and in her second marriage to Sir Robert Veres second son to Richard Vere, eleventh Earl of Oxford. To Sir Nicholas Carew she bore Thomas, Nicholas, Hugh, Alexander, and William; and to Sir Robert Vere, John, who was father of John, fifteenth Earl of Oxford; and she became widow to both. Her mother being an heiress, she had great possessions descended to her; and she did, from some great displeasure taken against him, disinherit her eldest son, Sir Thomas Carew of Mohuns-Autrey, of all her lands, being seventeen manours, and bestowed them upon her younger sons, and she disposed of them in this manner; Haccomb, Ringmore,

and Milton, she gave to Nicholas; Lyham, Manedon, Comb-hall, and Southtawton, to Hugh; East-Anthony, Shoggebok, and Landegy, to Alexander; Wicheband, Wadebridge, Bokeland, and Blodenaugh, to William; and lastly, Rosworthy, Boswen, and Tregennow, to John. Thomas repaired this loss in part by matching with one of Carmino's daughters and heirs. From Nicholas is descended Carew of Haccomb, who by virtue of this entail succeeded to Hugh's portion, he dying issueless; from Alexander is descended Carew of Anthony; from William, Carew of Crocum; and from John, Vere the late Earls of Oxford.

In Haccomb church lyeth the portraiture of a lady cut in grey marble, with a book in her left hand, and her right on her breast, whom I guess to be, says Mr.Prince, either the daughter and heir of Sir Warren Archdeacon, married to Sir Hugh Courtenay, Knight, or Sir Hugh Courtenay's daughter married to Sir Nicholas Baron-Carew. At her feet lyeth the effigies of a youth curiously cut in alabaster, and finely polished, in a frame of the same, two angels supporting his pillow, and a dog at his feet, who may be supposed to be the brother of the last-mentioned lady, and only son of Sir Hugh Courtenay, by Sir Warren Archdeacon's daughter. If he had lived, he had been not only Lord of Haccomb, but Earl of Devon, says Mr.Prince but this is a mistake; for the Earldom was then in the elder branch and it did not come into this branch 'till a great while after.

Sir Hugh Courtenay's last wife was Maud the daughter of Sir John Beaumont of Sherwell in Devonshire: she died July 3, 7 Edward IV. by whom he had a son named Hugh, (who succeeded his father in his estate) and a daughter named Margaret, married to Sir Theobald Grenville.

He bore the Arms of Courtenay with ermines upon the label, with 3 points for distinction.

The Arms of his wife, Philippa Archdeacon, were, argent, 3 cheverons sable. His father, Sir Edward Courtenay, did bear upon the Arms of Courtenay, a bend argent; and his mother's, the Dauneys, were, argent, on a bend cotiz'd, azure, 3 roses or.

CHAPTER 11.

Sir Hugh Courtenay, son of Sir Hugh Courtenay of Haccomb, is by Sir William Pole called Sir Hugh Courtenay of Ashwater, and by Mr.Carew, in his Survey of Cornwall, Sir Hugh Courtenay of Bocanock, from the place of his residence in Cornwall so called, which was a seat of the Earls of Devonshire his successors, and after of the Mohuns, descended from one of his daughters he was returned Knight of the Shire for Cornwall in 25th Henry VI. He was returned again for the same County in 28th Henry VI.

In 1471, 11 Edward IV. on Easter-day at Even, Queen Margaret, wife of Henry VI. and her son Prince Edward, landed at Weymouth, as was said before, and went from thence to an Abbey near called Cerne; and while they were there, Edmund Earl of Somerset, John Earl of Devonshire, and many others, came unto them, and welcomed them into England, and comforted them in the best manner they could. The Duke of Somerset and the Earl

of Devonshire, the more to encourage the Western Counties to join with them, repaired to Exeter, where they sent for this Sir Hugh Courtenay of Boconock, and Sir John Arundell with many others, in whom they had confidence, and they raised the whole power of Devonshire and Cornwall, and having joined the Queen, marched with her to Tewksbury, where was fought a bloody battle, May 4, 1471. Edmund Duke of Somerset, and Sir Hugh Courtenay, says Stow, fled from Prince Edward, and lost him the battle: but this cannot be, if the former relation; taken from the Compleat History of England, be true; for there it is said, that the Duke of Gloucester, King Edward's brother, having attacked the queen's camp, was repulsed and the Duke of Somerset, who led the vanguard, seeing its pursued the Duke of Gloucester too far, whereupon the Duke of Gloucester returned upon him, and cut off most of his men; but the Duke of Gloucester returned upon him, and cut off most of his men; but the Duke of Somerset got back to the main body, and was so enraged with Lord Wenlock, because he did not come to his assistance, that with an ax he had in his hand he knocked out his brains, upon which there was a confusion in Prince Edward's army, and so it was in a little time put to flight, and the Duke of Somerset, with many others, fled for sanctuary to Tewksbury Church, and in a day or two after were taken out and beheaded but whether Sir Hugh Courtenay was in that wing commanded by the Duke of Somerset, it is not said; neither is it known whether he died in battle, or was amongst those who took sanctuary in the Church of Tewksbury; it is highly probable that he was killed at that time, either in the field or afterwards, and was buried in Tewksbury. He had two sons; Sir Edward, who succeeded him in his estate, and was afterwards Earl of Devonshire; and Sir Walter, and four daughters, married to four Cornish gentlemen Elizabeth, married to John Trethref; Maud, to John Arundel of Talvern; Isabel, to William Mohun; and Florence, to John Trelawney, Esquire. His wife was Margaret, daughter and co-heir of Thomas Carmino.

The family of Carmino is said to be one of the most ancient of the County of Devon; and there is a tradition, that one of that family did with his menq amongst others, oppose the landing of Julius Caesar: but the family became extinct about this time; for there were then only two daughters left, one of whom was married to this Sir Hugh Courtenay, and the other to Sir Thomas Carew of Mohuns-Autrey.

The arms of Carmine were, azure, on a bend or, a label of 3, gules.

CHAPTER III.

Edward Courtenay, second of that names Earl of Devonshire, was son of Sir Hugh Courtenay of Boconock: he was restored to the Earldom of Devonshire, and to the estates thereunto belonging, by King Henry VII. presently after the fight of Bosworth-field, being very instrumental in bringing of him to the throne,

Richard III. having murdered his nephew Edward V. and usurped the crown, was generally hated by the people, and there was a great many conspiracies against hims and amongst others, Henry Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, who had been King Richard's great friend, upon the account

of some private grudge, entered into a conspiracy against him, intending to bring the land Henry Earl of Richmond, as heir to the crown; and with him conspired Sir Edward Courtenay, (afterwards Earl of Devonshire) Sir Walter Courtenay his brother, Peter Courtenay, Bishop of Exeter, (who was not brother to Sir Edward, as most historians do say, but son of Sir Philip Courtenay of Powderham) and many other western gentlemen.

The Duke raised some forces in Wales, and with them marched through the forest of Dean, intending to have passed the River Severn at Gloucester, and then to have joined his army with the forces that the Courtenays had raised; which if he had done, the historian says, King Richard's reign would not have been so long by a year: but there fell a great deal of rain, and the waters of the Severn were so swelled, that the Duke was not able to get over, and the flood continued for some time; so that his soldiers deserted from him by degrees, 'till at last the Duke had none left about him but his domestick servants, and he was forced to fly for his life, and to hide himself but he was betrayed by one of his servants and taken, and afterwards beheaded upon the marketplace in Salisbury, the 2d of November, 1483.

When this was known to his confederates in the West, every man shifted for himself and fled; some of them sailed into Britany, where the Earl of Richmond then was; amongst whom were Sir Edward Courtenay, Peter Courtenay, Bishop of Exeter, and Sir Walter Courtenay. And Mr. Carew, in his Survey of Cornwall says, "So much were the Devonshire and Cornishmen devoted to the Name of Courtenay, that they readily followed them when they endeavoured to assist the Duke of Buckingham in his revolt against King Richard." After the Courtenays, with some other western gentlemen, had fled into Britany, King Richard went to Exeter, and he found that the gentlemen of those parts were almost all concerned in the conspiracy to depose him; wherefore he send down John Lord Scroop with a commission to keep a sessions, who sat at Torrington, and there were indicted of high treason, Thomas Marquess of Dorset, Peter Courtenay, Bishop of Exeter, Sir Edward Courtenay, Walter Courtenay his brothers and others, to the number of five hundred, all which shifted for themselves and fled, as was said, some into Britany, and some elsewhere; all which were outlawed but Sir Thomas St. Leger, who married King Richard's own sister, and Thomas Rame, Esquire, were taken and beheaded at Exeter.

In the beginning of the next year, 1484, there was a parliament called, and the Earl of Richmond and his followers, Sir Edward Courtenay, and Peter Bishop of Exeter, amongst the rest were attainted.

And whilst the Earl of Richmond was in Britany, King Richard sent over ambassadors, with orders to apply themselves to Peter Landeize, the Duke of Britany's chief minister and favourite, and to tempt him with the promise of a large sum of money to betray the Earl into their hands: Landeize hearkened to the proposal made by King Richard's ambassadors and promised to deliver the Earl of Richmond into their hands; but the Earl having notice of it, escaped in disguise with his principal officers into the French King's dominions. Landeize intended in a day or two after to sieze him, and when he missed him, he sent couriers into all parts of the Dutchy in search of him; he was scarce got into the French territories when one of the parties that was sent out after him came within an hour's riding of him; but the Earl had prevented Landeize's treachery, who acted without his master's privity, the Duke of Britany being at that time dangerously ill, and leaving all things to his management. The English

refugees that remained in Britany expected all to be deliver'd up to the fury of King Richard, when they heard of the Earl's escape, and the reasons of it; and had not the Duke of Britany recovered, and took on him the administration of affairs, Landeise would have seized then, and yielded them up to the usurpers's ambassadors, The Duke inquiring into the cause of the Earl's flight, was much displeased, and sent for Sir Edward Woodvill and Captain Poynings, to whom he excused the treachery of his minister and gave them a considerable sum of money to conduct them, with the English that were at Vannes, through Britany into France to their master the Earl of Richmond. The Earl went to Loinges on the Loire, where Charles the French King kept his court, and from thence accompanied him to Montargis. King Charles entertained him and his company very magnificently; but was not very forward to lend him any assistance.

While the Earl was in the French courts John Earl of Oxford came to him, with James Blunt, Captain of the Castle of Hammes, in which the Lord Oxford had been confined several years. The coming of the Earl of Oxford animated afresh the Earl of Richmond and his friends, whose spirits began to sink, seeing the little hopes they had of help in France, and now their company increased daily. The Marquess of Dorset fearing the Earl would not succeed in his enterprize, left the Earl and stole away from Paris by night; but the Earl having got leave of the French King to seize him, sent messengers every way in search of him, and at length got him back again by the Marquess's disposition to leave him, the Earl began to fear, that if he delayed his expedition to England any longer, many more of his friends might grow cool in their zeal for him; so he earnestly solicited the French King for aid, desiring so small a supply of men and money, that King Charles could not in honour refuse him; yet for what he lent him he would have hostages that satisfaction should be made. The Earl made no scruple of that; so leaving the Marquess of Dorset, whom he still mistrusted, and Sir John Bourchier as his pledges, at Paris, he departed for Roan, where the few men that the French King had lent him, and all the English that followed his fortunes rendezvoused: whilst he was there, the Earl received a messenger out of England, who brought him advice, that some gentlemen in Wales, of great power, had made great preparations to assist him: and that Reginald Bray had collected large sums of money to pay his troops, and earnestly entreated him to hasten his voyage, and direct his course to Wales. The Earl rejoycing at this good news, ordered all his forces to embark and sail for Barsleur in Normandy; they were about two thousand men in a few ships, just enough to transport them. After seven days sail the Earl arrived in the harbour of Milford; with him came over Jasper Earl of Pembroke his uncle, the Earl of Oxford, Peter Courtenay, Bishop of Exeter, Sir Edward Courtenay, with several other western gentlemen, that had fled away upon the disaster of the Duke of Buckingham they landed the 6th of August, and a great many noblemen with their retinues immediately resorted to them; and then the Earl marched against King Richard, his forces Increasing as he went; and he met him at a village called Bosworth near Leicester, where there was a sharp battle between them; in the end King Richard with a great many of his men were slain, and the Earl of Richmond obtained a great victory; and immediately the Lord Stanley crowned him in the field with the crown that was taken off King Richard's head.

After King Henry came to London, he dined in the Eye of St. Simon and Jude with Thomas Bourchier, Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, at Lambeth, and

from thence went by land over the bridge to the tower, where the next day he made twelve knights bannerets;; but for creations he disposed of them with a sparing hand, says the Lord Bacon; for notwithstanding a field so lately fought, and a coronation so near at hand, he only created three piers Jasper Earl of Pembroke, the King's uncle, was created Duke of Bedford; Thomas Lord Stanley, the King's father-in-law, was created Earl of Derby, and Sir Edward Courtenay was created Earl of Devon. In the creation of Edward Courtenay, after the clauses of creation in investiture, very many castles, manours, and hundreds are named that were given him; so says Mr. Selden: and Sir William Dugdale tells us what they were: he says, that King Henry VII. did not only advance Sir Edward Courtenay unto the title of Earl of Devon, as by his letters patents, bearing date the 26th of October, 1485, appeareth; but upon the same day, by other letters patents, gave him the honours, boroughs, and manours of Plympton, Okehampton, the castle and manour of Tiverton, the manours of Sampford-Courtenay, Chaverleigh, Cornwood, Norton-Damerell Topsham, Ex-Island Kenn, Exminster, Coliton, Whitfords Whimple, Ailesbear, Ralesford, Musbury and Chymliegh; as also the hundreds of Plympton, Tiyerton; Colitong West-Budleigh, East-Budleigh, Emminster, Harridge, and Woneford; with the advowsons of the churches of Assington, Kenn, Throughley, Milton-Damerel, and all-saints in the city of Exeter; with the advowsons of the prebends of Clift-heys, Cuttong and Kerswill, in the chapel of Our Lady in the castle of the City of Exon; also of the Chauntry of Sticklepath, with free-fishing in the River of Ex, and three mills in Ex-Island, all in the County of Devon; likewise the Manour of Wabington in Bedfordshire; the Mnaours of Shebroke, West-taunton, Landulp, North-hill, Porth-loel Porth-pigham, Leigh-durant, Land-refan, Trelowyn, Treervyn-Courtenay, Tegamore, and Tegulan ; as also the Borough of Croft-hole and Porth-pigham, with the advowsons of the Churches of Cheviock, Landulp, and North-hill, and free chapel of Lamana in Cornwall; all which were part of the possessions of Thomas Courtenay, Earl of Devon, son of Thomas Courtenay, Earl of Devon. And in March following, King Henry constituted him governour of Kesterwell in Cornwall, and some time after made him one of the Knights of the most Noble Order of the Garter. He was in all the parliaments in the reign of Henry VII.

This Edward Earl of Devonshire was in the espedition made into France by King Henry in the 7th year of his reign, 1491. The king being resolved upon a war with France, had gathered together a great and puissant army into the City of London, in which were Thomas Marquess of Dorset, Thomas Earl of Arundell, Edward Earl of Devonshire, with many more Earls, barons, and knights, the army amounting in the whole to twenty five thousand foot and sixteen hundred horse.

The 6th of October the King embarked at Sandwich, and the same day landed at Calais, which was the rendezvous where all his forces were to meet; and on the 15th he removed from Calais, and in four days march sat down before Bulloigne; and whilst the siege was carrying on, a peace was concluded by commissioners appointed for that purpose of and the peace was to last for the King's life, and all things were to remain as they were, save that there should be given to the King seven hundred forty five thousand ducats at present for his charges in that journey, and twenty five thousand crowns to be paid yearly; and so the King got money by his expedition; but this peace gave great discontent to the nobility and principal persons of the army, who had many of

of them sold, or engaged their estates in hopes of the war, but were forced to return home again without doing any thing.

In the year 1497, 13 Henry VII. Perking Warbeck landed in Cornwall, and went to Bodmyn, where being accompanied with three or four thousand men, he proclaimed himself King Richard IV. From thence he went to Exeter, and besieged it. The King hearing of it, prepared his army with as much speed as possible, and sent the Lord Daubenie before with certain troops of light horse, to give notice of his coming. But in the mean time, Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire, and the valiant Lord William his son, accompanied with Sir William Courtenay of Powderham, Sir Edmund Carew, Sir Thomas Trenchard, Sir Thomas Fulford, Sir John Hallewell, Sir John Crocker, Walter Courtenay, Peter Edgcombe, William St.Maur, with all speed came to the City of Exeter, and helped the citizens; and in the last assault was the Earl hurt in the arm with an arrow, and so were many of his company hurt, but very few were slain.

When Perkin saw he could not win the City of Exeter, seeing it was so well fortified with men and ammunition, he departed thence, and went to Taunton; from thence he fled to Bewdley, where he took sanctuary, and was after taken and pardoned his life; but being in a plot afterward, he was hanged.

The King went forward in his journey, and made a joyful entrance into Exeter, where he gave the citizens great commendations and thanks; and taking the sword he wore from his side, he gave it to the Mayor, and commanded that it should be for ever carried before him.

This Edward Earl of Devonshire married Elizabeth daughter of Sir Philip Courtenay of Molland, (Sir Peter Ball saith, she was daughter of Sir Philip Courtenay of Powderham) and had by her William Courtenay, his son and heir, who succeeded him in his honour and estate.

This Earl made his will, May 27, 1 Henry VIII. 1509: "And I found it proved and registered (saith Sir Peter Ball) in the prerogative-office of the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury; and he desired thereby to be buried in the Chapel of Tiverton near his Lady: and he ordered that all those persons that stand seised to his use of any of his lands, (except those parcels of the Earldom of Devon shall be seised of it to the use of his executors, for years, for 200 marks per annum; 100 marks thereof shall be for the exhibition of Sir William Courtenay, Knight, my son, saith he, 'till his age of one and twenty years; and the other twenty marks in maintaining Margaret Courtenay, sister to the said Henry; and after that they shall stand seised to the use of my said son Sir William Courtenay, under condition, that he obtain the King's grace and pardon, and be at his liberty; and after that, as long as he doth observe and keep the due allegiance to the King our sovereign lord, and to his heirs, Kings of England, for his life; and after to Henry his son in tail; and after to Margaret in tail; and after to the heirs of the bodies of my sisters, Elizabeth, Maud, Isabel, and Florence; and after to their right heirs. He gave 4 l. per annum land for the founding a chauntry in the chapel where he was buried.

The arms of this Earl were as the former, viz. 3 Torteaux in a Field Or, with a Label of 3 Points Azure in chief.

CHAPTER IV.

William Courtenay, first Earl of Devonshire of that name, was son of Edward Courteney, Earl of Devonshire, and Elizabeth daughter of Sir Philip Courtenay of Molland: He married Catherine, the seventh and youngest daughter of King Edward IV. His marrying into the royal family was very unfortunate to him, as it has been to most others; for he was kept in prison several years by King Henry VII. His son was beheaded by King Henry VIII. and his grand-son was kept in prison almost all days of his life. This William Earl of Devonshire was made Knight of the Bath at the coronation of Henry VII. and in the year 1497, 13 Henry VII. was with his father the Earl of Devonshire in Exeter, when that city was besieged by Perkin Warbeck, where he behaved himself valiantly.

In the year 1502, 17 Henry VII. Edmund de la Palle, Earl of Suffolk, son to John Duke of Suffolk, and Lady Elizabeth, eldest sister to King Edward IV. and brother to John Earl of Lincoln, who headed a rebellion against King Henry VII. and was slain at Stockfield, was indicted for murder for killing a mean person in his rages and although the King pardoned him, when he might have justly put him to death yet because he was brought to the bar and arraigned, he was so displeased, that he fled into Flanders to his aunt the Lady Margaret, Dutchess of Burgundy. The King not being made privy to his going away, and not knowing his design, sent over Sir Robert Curson to find out if he could what was designed by the Dutchess of Burgundy, and the Earl of Suffolk her cousin: In short, the King by his means, and by other diligent search, discovered some that were contriving of mischief against him, and others that did bear no sincere affection towards his person, and he could readily name them; so that there were a great many taken up, and amongst them William Lord Courtenay, son to the Earl of Devonshire, Lord William de la Poole, brother to the Earl of Suffolk, Sir James Tyrrels and Sir John Wyndham. William Lord Courtenay, and Lord William de la Poole, were taken up only upon suspicion because they were near a-kin to the conspirator, and not because there was any thing proved against them: but Sir John Tyrrel and Sir John Wyndham were attainted of high-treason, May 6, and were beheaded on Tower-Hill; but the Lord William Courtenay was kept prisoner all the remaining time of the reign of King Henry VII. for that King, says Lord Bacon, did resolve to depress all the chief persons of the line of York.

In the year 1509, Edward Earl of Devonshire dying, the Lord William Courtenay became Earl of Devonshire, and was set at liberty by King Henry VIII. as soon as he came to the throne, which was that year; and he was in great favour and esteem with that King as long as he lived; but if he had lived longer, he might have been served by him as his son the Marquess of Exeter was. On New-Year's Day, in the year 1509-10, the Queen was delivered of a Prince, whose God-fathers at the Font were the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury and the Earl of Surrey, and the Lady Catherine, Countess of Devon, God-mother: his name was Henry; but the child did not live to the latter end of the next month, The Queen being churched, the King and she removed from Richmond to Westminster, where there was preparation made for solemn justs in honour of the Queen: the King was one, and with him three aids; the King was called Coeur Loial, and

the Earl of Devonshire, Bon Volire, Sir Thomas Nevet, Bon Espoire, Sir Edward Nevil, Valiant Desire; and their names were put in a fine table, and the table was hung on a tree curiously wrought, and they were called Les Chevaliers de la Forest Salvigne, and they were to run at the tilt with all comers.

On the 1st day of May, 1510, 2 Henry VIII, the King, accompanied with a great many valiant noblest rode upon managed horses to the wood to fetch May, where he and three others, viz. Sir Edward Howard, Charles Brandon, and Edward Nevil, which were challengers, shifted themselves, and did put on coats of green sattin, guarded with crimson velvet; and on the other side were the Earls of Essex and Devonshire, the Marquess of Dorset, and the Lord Howard, and they were all in crimson sattin, guarded with a pounced guard of green velvet. On the third day the Queen made a great banquet for the King and those who had justed, and after the banquet she gave the chief prize the King, the second to the Earl of Essex, the third to the Earl of Devonshire, and the fourth to the Marquess of Dorset: then the heralds cried aloud, My Lords, For your noble feats in arms, God send you the love the Ladies whom you most admire.

In the year 1511, 3 Henry VIII. William Earl of Devon was seized with a pleurisy fever, which distemper as Polydore Virgil says, was rare in England at that time, and therefore unknown to the physicians and through their unskilfulness, he says, the Earl died: he says of him, that he was a man of great nobility, in great esteem, and of great virtue. He died at Greenwich, June 9, 1511. And although he had the King's Letters Patents of the Earldom of Devonshire passed some weeks and odd days before his death, yet so necessary was a creation at that time accounted, says Sandford, that he could not be buried in the quality of an Earl for want thereof, 'till the King, for such favour that he bore him, which are the words of the Memorandum, would have him be buried as an Earl, and by the advice of his council commanded that he should be called by that title: his body was embalmed in the King's court at Greenwich, and lay in state in his chamber 'till Thursday the 12th day of the same month, when in the afternoon, being accompanied with a great many persons of distinction, it was conveyed by barge to Paul's Wharf, where attended several gentlemen, and the four orders of Fryers, who carried those trophies that were due to his degree, the Marquess of Dorset being principal mourner, the offertory and mass being finished, he was buried by a Bishop in Paul's Church, on the South Side of the High Alter, leaving his Lady one of his seven executors, who out-living him about sixteen years, departed this life at her Manour of Tiverton in Devonshire, November 159 1527, 19 Henry VIII. at three in the afternoon. Her body was embalmed, cered, leaded, and covered with a pall of black velvet, with a cross of white sattin, and upon that another pall of cloth of gold, with a white cross of silver tissue, garnished with six escutcheons of her arms, and was attended day and night 'till Monday, December 21 when with a formal proceeding it was brough to the Parish-Church of Tiverton, under a canopy of black velvet, borne by six Esquires, at each corner whereof a Banner of a Saint was borne by so many Esquires, viz. of the Trinity, Our Lady, St. Edward, and St. Catherine. The bearers were all in black gowns and hoods; eight bannerels were carried by eight gentlemen, four on the one side, and four on the other. The chief mourner was the Lady Carew, assisted by Sir Piers Edgcombe; her train was borne up by a gentleman followed by six gentlewoman; The

The next day, the company being again come into the church, the Mass of Requiem sung, and the Offertory being performed, Doctor Barsley made a good sermon upon this text, Manus Domini tetigit me, the hand of the Lord hath touched me, which done, and divine service ended, and the Lord suffragan with all the Abbots and Prelates in their pontificalibus, having performed the office of burial, the body was let down into a vault under the hearse, at which time the officers broke their staffs, and the whole company went to the Castle of Tiverton to dinner: in memory of which noble lady, the Marquess of Exeter, her son, caused a Chapel, and in it her Tomb with her effigies upon it, to be erected by the side of the High Altar of the said church.

The seal of this Lady, Catherine Countess of Devonshire, is delineated in Sandford's Genealogical History, upon which are the arms of her husbands William Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire, viz, Quarterly, Or, 3 Torteaux Gules; and Or, a Lyon rampant Azure, by the name of de Ripariis or Redvers; the third as the secondy the fourth as the first, impaling Quarterly of 4 pieces; the first, France and England; secondly, Or, a cross Gules, for Ulster; the third as the second; the fourth Mortimer: the arms supported on the right side with a dolphin, and on the left with the Lyon of March: upon the top of the excutchoon appears a demy-rose within the rays of the sun: The seal is circumscribed with these words, Catherina Comitisse Devon, Filia Soror, & Amita Regum; Catherine Countess of Devon, daughter, sister, and aunt of kings. The indenture to which this seal is annexed, is dated upon 24 October, in the 6th of Henry VIII. The said quarterings of this Countess Catherine are impaled in a glass-window in Tiverton Church in the County of Devon, with those of her husband, being Or, 3 Torteaux, a file of as many points azure.

This Lady Catherine, daughter of Edward IV. had by her husbands William Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire one son named Henry, who was after his father Earl of Devonshire, and afterward Marquess of Exeter, and one daughter named Margaret, who was choaked with a bone of a fish, and died at Colecomb very young; and there is a monument of an antique figure still remaining for her in the parish-church of Coliton, where her effigies is put at full length, in a nich of the north wall, with the effigies of an angel at her head and another at her feet, and over are, 1. The arms of Courtenay impaled with the arms of England; 2. The arms of Courtenay by themselves 3. The arms of England by themselves and the Ile where this monument is placed is called Choke-bone Ile to this day.

Amongst among ancient evidences belonging to this family, there remains extant a deed under the hand and seal of this Catherine Countess of Devon, dated 3 Henry VIII. and signed Cath. Devonshire: It is directed to our trusty and well-beloved Councillours, Lewis Pollard, the King's Serjeant at Law, John Rowe, Serjeant at Law, Sir John Arundel, Knight, Steward of our lands; and in it she enables and directs them, to enquire and ascertain what was due for Aid pursile Marier; expressing, that Margaret her daughter was then above thirteen years old, and that by the Grace of G O D she intended to purvey for her a convenient marriage.

In the year 1527, there was an inquisition taken at Exon before the Mayor there, after the death of this Lady Catherine Countess of Devon, whereby it was found that she had lands there in Soccage Tenure, and due for a relief two shillings on her death.

CHAPTER V.

Henry Courtenay, second of that names Earl of Devonshire, was the son of William Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire, and Catherine daughter to King Edward IV. He became Earl of Devonshire upon the death of his father, which happened June 9, 1511 3 Henry VIII. as was said before. In 14 Henry VIII. 1522, he obtained a grant of the Lordship of Caliland in Cornwall, which came to the crown by the attainder of Edward Duke of Buckingham, and soon after a grant of a fair mansion situate in the Parish of St. Lawrence Poutlney within the City of London, which also came to the crown by the attainder of the abovesaid Duke: he was one of the twenty six peers that sat on the trial of that Duke. June 18, 1525, 17 Henry VIII. Henry Earl of Devonshire was made Marquess of Exeter on which day the King's sons which he had by Elizabeth Blunt, called Henry Fitz-roy, was created, first Earl of Nottingham, and afterwards on the same day, Duke of Somerset and Richmond. In the year 1520, 11 Henry VIII. in the summer the Queen desired the King to bring to his Manour of Havering in Essex, to the bower there, the gentlemen of France that were hostages, for whose welcome she provided all things in a liberal manner: The King, the four hostages of France, the Earl of Devonshire, with six other young gentlemen, entered the chamber mask'd; when they had been there for some time, and danced, they took off their masks and made themselves known, and the King gave many gifts where he liked. In the year 1520, 12 Henry VIII. at the interview of the King of England and King of France, in the Vale of Andren, on Thursday the 13th day of June, about noon, the two Queens met in the camp, and took their places; The people came in great numbers to see the two Kings, who being armed entered the field, and challenged all men to justs: then entered the Earl of Devonshire, and on his side the Lord Montacute, the Lord Herbert, Lord Leonard Grey, Mr. Arthur Pool, Mr. Francis Brian, Mr. Henry Norris, and four others, all richly apparrell'd. The Earl of Devonshire charged his spear, and the French King likewise charged his to meet the Earl, and they ran so hard together that both their spears broke, and so they maintained their courses nobly. In the year 1521, 13 Henry VIII. the King kept his Christmas at Greenwich in great splendour, and with open court, where the King and the Earl of Devonshire, with four aids, answered at the tournay all comers, which were sixteen persons: Noble and rich was their apparel, but in feats of arms the King excelled the rest. In the year 1523, the Emperour Charles V. came into England, and staid some days at Greenwich; and, the more to honour his presence, great justs and tournays were appointed, which were set forth in a most triumphal manner. The King and the Earl of Devonshire, and their aids, keeping the place against the Duke of Suffolk, the Marquess of Dorset, and their aids; and at many other times, as Hall relates, Henry Earl of Devonshire shewed his valour and activity at justs and tournaments. In 1523, June 15, Christian King of Denmark, with his wife and a small train with them, landed at Dover, where he was nobly received by the Earl of Devonshire, the Bishops of Exeter and Norwich, and came to London, where the King and the Queen received them with all honour. In the year 1525, June 18, Henry Earl of Devonshire, was created Earl of Exeter,

as was said above; and in the same year he was one of the commissioners of the King of England in that treaty made for the redemption of Francis I. King of France, then prisoner to the Emperour Charles V. In the year 1532, Octobert 10, the King went to Dover, and on the 11th, at three a-clock in the morning, he took shipping in Dover road, and before ten the same day he landed at Calais on the 21st he went out of Calais, accompanied with the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the Marquesses of Dorset and Exeter, and coming to the place appointed, he there met with the French King; but before he went, he nominated the Marquess of Exeter his heir apparent to the crown.

In the year 1533, September 7; (being Sunday) between the hours of three and four in the afternoon, was born the Lady Elizabeth, daughter to King Henry VIII. afterwards Queen of England; she was born at Greenwich, and there christened in the Fryers Church the Wednesday after: the God-father at the Font was the Lord Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, the God-mothers, the old Dutchess of Norfolk, and the old Marchioness of Dorset, widow; and at the confirmation the Lady Marchioness of Exeter was God-mother: in the procession went the Earl of Essex, bearing the covered Bason gilt; after him the Marquess of Exeter, with a taper virgin-wax; next him the Marquess of Dorset, bearing the salt. When the ceremonies and christening was ended, the Arch-Bishop gave the Princess a standing cup of gold: the Marchioness of Exeter gave three standing bowls graven, all gilt, with a cover,

In 1529, Henry Marquess of Exeter was one of the lords that subscribed to the forty four articles then exhibited to the King against Cardinal Woolsey; and in the next year, he, together with the rest of the peers then sitting in Parliament, did subscribe that letter that was then sent to the Pope, Clement VII. wherein they earnestly moved his Holiness to ratify the divorce made between King Henry and Queen Catherine, his first wife, representing to him the opinion of divers universities and many learned men upon that point withal insinuating, that recourse would be had to other remedies in case of his refusali in which year he obtained the inheritance of the Manour of Edelmeton, alias Saysbury, and Diphans, as also the Manour of Swacliff and Cordhall, with all those lands called Herseyes, in Little Helyndon and Great Helyndon in the County of Middlesex. In 1536, he was one of those that sat on the trial of Ann Bullein. And in that same year, 28 Henry VIII. and insurrection began in Yorkshire, and the people gathered together to the number of forty thousand The King being advertised thereof, sent the Duke of Norfolk, his Lieutenant-General, the Marquess of Exeter, the Earl of Shrewsbury, the Earls of Huntington and Rutland, with a great army to go against them: these Lords raising those forces that were assigned them, marched to the place where the rebels were encamped which was beyond the Town of Doncaster, the highway towards York: first, the Earl of Shrewsbury, with the Earls of Huntington and Rutland, gathered what forces they could out of the Counties of Shrewsbury, Stafford and Leicester; at little after came the Duke of Norfolk, and last of all came the Marquess of Exeter, with a jolly company of Western men, well and compleatly appointed, (so says Hollingshed) and he mustered them at Bradnich: and a battle was appointed to be fought on the Eve of St. Simon and Jude; but there fell such rain the night before, that the two armies could not meet; whereupon the rebels desired the Duke of Norfolk to sue to the King for a pardon, which the Duke promised, and rid post to the

King then lying at Windsor, to know his pleasure, who confirmed what the Duke had done, sent them a pardon, and so appeased them.

In the year 1538, 29 Henry VIII. in the month of June, the Lord Darey and the Lord Huffey were arraigned at Westminster before the Marquess of Exeter, High-Steward, where they were found guilty, and had judgment as in cases of high-treason. The same yr, Henry Courtenay, Marquess of Exeter and Earl of Devonshire, Henry Poole Lord Montecute, and Sir Edward Nevil, brother to the Lord Abergavenny, were sent to the Tower, being accused by Sir Geoffrey Poole, brother to the Lord Montacute, of hightreason: they were indicted for devising to maintain, promote and advance one Reginald Poole, late Dean of Exeter, enemy to the King beyond sea, and to deprive the King. The Marquess and the Lord Mantacute were tried by their peers, the 2d and 3d of December at Westminster, before the Lord Audley, Lord Chancellor, and, for that time, Lord High Steward of England, and they were found guilty. The 9th of January the Lord Marquess and the Lord Montacute, with Sir Edward Nevil, lost their heads on Tower-Hill. On the 4th of February following, Sir Nicholas Carew, who was both master of the horse and Knight of the Barter, was arraigned for being an adherent to the Marquess of Exeter, and having spoken of his attainder as unjust and cruel, he was also attainted and executed upon the 3d of March. Dr. Burnet says, the special matter brought against the Lord Montacute and the Marquess of Exeter, was "That whereas Cardinal Poole and others had cast off their allegiance to the King, and gone and submitted themselves to the Pope, the King's mortal enemy; the Lord Montecute did, on the 24th of July, in the 28th year of the King's reign, a few months before the rebellion broke out, say, that he liked well the proceedings of his brother the Cardinal, but did not like the proceedings of the realm; and said, I trust to see a change of this world; I trust to have a fair day upon these knaves that rule about the King; and I trust to see a merry world one day. Words to the same purpose were likewise charged on the Marquess of Exeter. The Lord Montacute farther said, I would I were over the sea with my brother, for this world will one day come to stripes; it must needs so come to pass, and I fear we shall lack nothing so much as honest men: He also said, he dreamed that the King was dead, and though he was not yet dead, he would die suddenly one day; his leg would kill him, and then we should have jolly stirring saying, that he never loved him from his childhood, and that Cardinal Walsey would have been an honest man, if he had had an honest master. And the King having said to the Lords, he would leave them one day, having some apprehensions he might shortly died, that Lord said, if he will serve us so, we shall be happily rid: A time will come, I fear we shall not tarry the time, we shall do well enough; he had also said, upon the breaking out of the northern rebellion, that the Lord Darcy played the fool, for he went to pluck away the Council, but he should have begun with the head first; but I will beshrew him for leaving off so soon."

These are the words charged on these Lords, says Dr. Burnet, as clear discoveries of their treasonable designs, and that they knew of the rebellion that brake out, and only intended to have kept it off to a fitter opportunity,

Heylin says, "Henry Earl of Devonshire and Marquess of Exeter, descended from a daughter of King Edward IV. and Henry Poole, Lord Montacute, descended from a daughter of George Duke of Clarence, the second brother of that Edward, under colour of preventing or revenging the dissolutions of abbeys and religious houses, associated themselves with Sir Edward Nevil and Sir Nicholas Carew, in a dangerous practice against the person of the King, and the peace of the Kingdom, by whose indictment it appears, that it was their purpose and design to destroy the King, and advance Reginald Poole, one of the younger brothers of the said Lord Montacute, to the regal throne; which, how it could consist with the pretensions of the Marquess of Exeter, or the ambition of the Lord Montacute, the elder brother of this Reginald, is hard to say: But having the Chronicle of John Speed to justify me in the truth hereof in this particular, I shall not take upon me to dispute the point' so saith Dr. Heylin. And indeed Speed says, "That the Marquess and the Lord Montacute, by secret working, sought to deprive King Henry, and to raise up Reynold Poole unto the regal dignity, as by their indictments appeareth." But how can that be? as Dr. Heylin observes, when the Marquess was descended for the elder brother, King Edward IV. and Reginald Poole from the young, the Duke of Clarence, and the Lord Montacute was the Cardinal's elder brother: Certainly they would not set up the Cardinal to be King, when they both had a better title to the crown than he had; but there was no such thing in the indictment, that Speed says there was; for the indictment against the Marquess was, that he should traitously say, I like well of the proceedings of Cardinal Poole, but I like not the proceedings of this realm; and I trust to see a change of the world: I trust once to have a fair day upon these knaves which rule about the King; I trust to give them a buffet one day. This was all was laid in the indictment against the Marquess: and the indictment against Sir Nicholas Carew was, that he should maliciously and traiterously murmur, and was wroth, and said, I greatly marvel that the indictment against the Lord Marquess was so secretly handled, and to what purpose, for the like was never seen.

My Lord Herbert says, "The particular offences yet of these great persons are not so fully made known to me that I can say, much; only I find among our records, that Thomas Wriothesley, Secretary then at Brussels, writing of their apprehension to Sir Thomas Wiat, Ambassador in Spain, said, that the accusations were great and duly proved; and in another place I read, that they sent the Cardinal money."

Another historian says, that the Marquess was in so great favour with King Henry VIII that upon his going into France, he nominated him his heir apparent, but after his return degraded him, and took away his life upon better policy, 'lest he should create so much trouble to the commonwealth, as the late Richard Duke of York had done, after he was honoured with the like title of Heir Apparent, and who proved the ruin of his raiser, Henry VI.'" He says again "Now whether the Marquess had been faulty in abetting the treason wherewith Cardinal Poole was charged, or whether the King packed him into the company, certain it is, that having the Marquess and his partakers at an advantage the better to secure his own estate, he cause his head to be cut off on Tower-Hill.'

Hollingshed says, "That the King became jealous of his greatness, whereof the Marquess had given some testimony in his so sudden raising divers thousands against the Yorkshire rebels and he says likewise, that the Marquess

was put to death to the great grief of most of the subjects of this realm, who for his sundry virtues did bar him great favour and goodwill."

Dr. Burnet says, "That a little before the Marquess was put to death, there were very severe invectives printed at Rome against King Henry VIII. in which there was nothing omitted, that could make him appear to posterity the blackest tyrant that ever wore a crown; and Cardinal Poole's stile was known in some of them, which possessed the King with the deepest and most implacable hatred to him that ever he bore to any person, and did provoke him to do all those severities that followed on his kindred and family."

There is a tradition in Tiverton in Devonshire, the place that the Marquess lived in, that an old man of that town came to the Marquess a little time before he was taken up, and told him, that by such a day, which he named, if he did not save his life by flying, he would be sent for up to London by the King, and have his head cut off. The Marquess slighted the saying of the old man, and when the day was come that he had named, the Marquess sent for him, and told him, that he was a false prophet, and threatened to have him punished. Sir, says the old man, there is a party of horse now coming to seize you, and they are come within half a mile of the town; and in a little time after the soldiers came and surrounded the castle, siezed upon the Marquess, and carried him prisoner to London, where he lost his head, as the old man had foretold.

In the next year, 1539, there was a parliament called, in which the attainders of the Marquess of Exeter and the Lord Montacute, and several others were confirmed, and new ones of a strange and unheard of nature, says Dr. Burnet, were enacted. "It is a blemish never to be washed of, says the doctor, and which cannot be enough condemned; and was a breach of the most sacred and unalterable rules of justice, which is capable of no excuse it was the attainting of some persons whom they held in custody without bringing them to trial: the chief of these were the Marchioness of Exeter and the Countess of Sarum." The special matter charged on the former is her confederating herself with Sir Nicholas Carew in his treasons; the latter is said to have confederated herself with her son the Cardinal, with other aggravating words. It does not appear by the Journal that any witnesses were examined.

About two years after the Countess of Salisbury was put to death; The old Lady being brought to the scaffold set up in the Tower, was commanded to lay her head upon the block but she refused, saying, so should traytors do, and I am none: Neither did it serve that the executioner told her it was the fashion; so turning her grey head every way, she bid him, if he would have her head, to get it as he could, so that he was constrained to fetch it off slovenly and thus ended, as our authors say, the last of the right line of the Plantagenets. And as for the Marchioness of Exeter, she was not executed, because she had no guilty blood-royal in her veins, that when Queen Mary came to the throne, as she went to the Tower, Lady Elizabeth her sister went next to her, and after her the Marchioness of Exeter.

This Marchioness made her will September 25, 1558, 4 and 5 of Philip and Mary, in which she bequeathed her body to be buried in the Chauncel or Parish-Church where she should depart this life, appointing a dirige and a trental of masses to be said or sung for her; To her Sister Catherine Berkeley

she gave a gown of black velvet flower'd with Jennets: To her brother, Mr. John Blunt, twenty pounds; and to her cousin James Blunt a standing gilt bowl with a cover. She was buried in Wynburn-minster in Dorsetshire, where, on the north side of the choir, is a fair, but plain marble monument erected to her memory, all round the upper part of which was formerly inlaid a plate of brass, whereon was an inscription, but the greatest part of it is now wanting, and all that remains is this;

Conjux quondam Henrici Courtenay, Marchioniss Exon,
Mater Edwardi Courteny, nuper Co

But the whole epitaph is registered in the Parish-Book in English, and is;

"In this lyes entombed Gertrude Blunt, Marchioness of Exeter, Daughter of William Blunt, Lord Montjoy, and Wife of Henry Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire and Marquess of Exeter, beheaded by King Henry 8th; which Henry Courtenay was Son of William Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire, by Catherine the Daughter of King Edward the 4th.

And this Lady Marchioness here entombed was, by the aforesaid Henry her husband, the mother of Edward Courteney, the last Earl of Devonshire of that name.

Henry Marquess of Exeter was by King Henry VIII. made Steward of all the Dutchy of Cornwall, and of all the stanneries in Devonshire and Cornwall; and therefore it was, that upon the Norther Rebellion he mustered his men in Bradnich, because it belongs to that Dutchy.

Upon the attainder of the Marquess, King Henry did annex to the Dutchy of Cornwall, the Manours of West-Anthony, Porth-loof, Porth-pighis, North-hill, Landrene, Trelowyn, Treganor, Tregulang Croshel, Trevervyn-Courteney, Landulph, Leigh-durant and Tinteng in the County of Cornwall, and all other his lands in the said places, which came to the King by the said attainder.

When Edward Seymour was created Duke of Somerset, I Edward VI. he had a grant of forty pounds per ann. out of the Manours of Crewkerne, Stoke-gurfy, and Wyke-Firzpain, late come the crown by the attainder of Henry Marquess of Exeter,

Where the Marquess was buried, I cannot learn; but Sir Nicholas Carew was buried in the Church of St. Botolph Aldgate; for on the south side of the Altar in that Church is a Monument, with a figure lying carved in marble, and the following inscription

Here lyeth Thomas Lord Darcy of the North; Sir Nicholas Carew Knight of the Garter; Lady Elizabeth Carew, Daughter to Sir Francis Brian; and Sir Arthur Darcy, younger Son to the said Lord Darcy, and Lady Mary his dear Wife, Daughter of Sir Nicholas Carew, who had 10 Sons and 5 Daughters.

By this Epitaph it appears, that the Lord Darcy's son married Sir Nicholas Carew's daughter, and that they were both, viz. the Lord Darcy and Sir Nicholas Carew, laid in the same vaults from which it may be inferred, that they were dear the one to the other; and the Lord Darcy was at the Head of an insurrection in Lincolnshire, and was for it Tryed and Executed; and the Marquess of Exeter sate as High Steward at

his trial as was said before; and therefore the Marquess and Sir Nicholas, who were great friends too, might be suspected to know before-hand of the insurrection as some historians do write; but there is no such thing laid to their charge in the indictment.

Henry Marquess of Exeter and Earl of Devonshire had two wives; the first was Elizabeth Grey, daughter and heir of John Viscount Lisle, by whom he had no issue; and the second was Gertrude daughter of William Blunt, Lord Montjoy, and Elizabeth daughter and co-heir of Sir William Say, Knight; and by this last wife he had two sons, 1. Henry who died young; 2. Edward, who was by Queen Mary restored to the honours and estates of his father.

The Marquess did bear, Quarterly, 1st. France and England, within a border of the same; 2d and 3d, Or, 3 Torteaux; 4th, Or, a Lyon rampant Azure. These arms within the garter are carved and painted in the roof of the Chapel of St. George at Windsor; for, as is said before, he was Knight of the most Noble Order of the Garter. There are likewise this Marquess' arms in a window of the Council Chamber in the Guild-hall of Exeter.

The arms of Elizabeth Grey, his first wife, were, Barry of six, Argent and Azure, 3 Torteaux in Chief, and a Label of 3 Points Ermine; and those his second wife, Gertrude Blunt, Barry, Nebule of six, Or and Sable.

CHAPTER VI.

Edward Courtenay, third of that name, Earl of Devonshire and Marquess of Exeter, was born about the year 1526, and when his father was beheaded, he being then but twelve years old, left he should raise commotions by revenging his father's quarrel, was committed to the Tower; and there he continued as long as King Henry lived.

King Edward VI. came to the throne, January 24, 1546; and on the 20th of February after, he was crowned at Westminster; and the same day there was proclaimed a general pardon of all manner of persons, excepting six, viz. the Duke of Norfolk, Edward Lord Courtenay, Mr. Forescue, Mr. Throgmorton, Cardinal Poole, and Mr. Pates; so that this young Lord was then continued a prisoner, and so remained all the days of King Edward VI. But in the year 1553, August 31 Queen Mary came from Wanstead in Essex to London, and went to the Tower, where Thomas Duke of Norfolk, Dr. Bardiner, late Bishop of Winchester, Edward Courtenay, son and heir to Henry Marquess of Exeter, the Dutchess of Somerset, prisoners in the Tower, kneeling on the hill within the same Tower, saluted her grace; and she came to them and killed them, and said, These be my prisoners, The next day Edward Courtenay was made Earl of Devon and Marquess of Exeter; although historians when they do mention him, do only call him Earl of Devon,

September 28, (being Thursday) the Queen made fifteen knight of the Bath, the first was the Earl of Devonshire; and the Queen not only advanced the Lord Courtenay to those titles of honour, but also to so much of

of his father's possessions as remained then in her hands; whereby, says Hollingshed, it was then thought by many that she did bear affection to him by way of marriage: but it came not to pass; but for what reason I am not able to say; but surely the subjects of England were most desirous thereof: So saith Hollingshed. And Dr. Heylin says, that during the sitting of the Parliament, in the first year of the queen's reign, she had been desired to marry; and three husbands had been nominated of several qualities, that she might please herself in the choice of one; that is to say, Edward Lord Courtenay, whom she had lately restored to the Title of Earl of Devon; Reginald Poole, a Cardinal of the Church of Rome, descended from George Duke of Clarence; and Philip the eldest son of Charles the Emperour. It is affirmed, that she had carried some good affections towards the Earl of Devonshire ever since she first saw him in the Tower, as being of a lovely personage and royal extraction, the grand-son of a daughter of King Edward IV. but he being founded a-far off had declined the matter, Concerning which there goes a story, that the young Earl petitioning the Queen for leave to travel, she advised him to marry and stay at home, assuring him, that no Lady in the land, who high soever, would refuse to accept of him for a husband; by which words, though she pointed out herself unto him, as plainly as might either stand with the modesty or majesty of a maiden Queen, yet the young gentleman not daring to look so high as a crown, or being better affected to the person of the Princess Elizabeth, desired the Queen to give him leave to marry her sister; which gave the Queen so much displeasure, that she looked upon them with an evil eye for ever after; upon the Earl for not accepting the love she seemed to offer, and on her sister as her rival in the Earl's affections so says Dr. Heylin. Bishop Godwin says, that the gravity and holiness of life, conjoined with great sweetness of disposition and prudence, did recommend Cardinal Poole; but the flower of his age that the Earl of Devonshire was in, together with his genteel and courteous behaviour, had rendered him most dear to the queen: but, says he, there was, I know not how, a suspicion raised of him, as if he did favour the Protestant religion, and Cardinal Poole was now grown pretty old, being above fifty three years old; therefore their Counsels prevailed, who said, That there was need of a powerful King to keep the kingdom in peace; and therefore she chose to marry Prince Philip the Emperour's son.

In the Parliament that met October 10, I Queen Mary, two private bills passed; the one for restoring the wife of the late Marquess of Exeter, who had been attainted in the 32d year of King Henry's reign, and the other for her son Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire; and in that Parliament the queen's legitimation was declared and confirmed and from this time, says Dr. Burnet, the Queen handled her sister Elizabeth more severely than she did before; it was perhaps occasioned by this act, since before they stood equally illegitimated; but now that act that legitimated the Queen, making her sister most certainly a bastard in law, the Queen might think it too much to use her as she had done formerly.

Others suggest a more secret reason of this distaste; the new Earl of Devonshire was much in her favour, so that it was thought she had some inclinations to marry him; but he either not presuming so high, or really having an aversion to her, and an inclination to her sister, who of that moderate share of beauty that was between them, had much the better of her, and was nineteen years younger, made his addresses, with more

more than ordinary concern, to the Lady Elizabeth; and this did bring them both into troubles says Dr.Burnet.

In the beginning of the month of January, the Emperour sent over ambassadors into England to conclude a marriage between King Philip his son and Queen Mary; which match was generally disliked, and was the occasion of the rising of the Duke of Suffolk, Sir Thomas Wiat, and Sir Peter Carew; but as Sir Peter Carew was carrying on his design in the West, it came to be discovered, and one that he had trusted much in it was taken upon that Sir Peter fled into France; Wiat was in Kent when he heard of this, but had not yet laid his business as he intended therefore fearing to be undone by the discovery that was made, he gathered some men about him, and on the 25th of January went to Maidstone. There he made proclamation, That intended nothing but to preserve the liberty of the nation, and to keep it from coming under the yoke of strangers.

Dr.Heylin says, that the Carews, and other gentlemen in Devonshire, were drawn into the plot upon assurance of marrying the Lord Courtenay to the Princess Elizabeth, and setting the Crown upon their heads: and if so, then no wonder that the Princess and the Earl were suspected of being privy to the plot.

On the 27th of January, the Lord Treasurer came to the Guild-hall from the Council to request the citizens to prepare five hundred footmen well-armed against the said Wiat, which was granted, and the next day were sent to Gravesend by water. January 29, the Duke of Norfolk, with the Captain of the Guard and other soldiers, and the Captain and the soldiers that were sent from London, had a design to attack Rochester Castle, where Wiat and his company lay; but the Captains of the City and their soldiers fled over Rochester Bridge to Wiat so that the Duke was fain to return again to London, being in great fear of his life. Wiat's army being strengthened with the queen's ordnance and treasures January 30, he removed to Black-heath: in the mean time, Henry Duke of Suffolk, father to Lady Jane Grey, flying into Leicestershire and Warwickshire, made proclamation against the Queen's marriage with the Prince of Spain; but the people did not incline to him; and after he had endeavoured to raise the country, he gave it over, and concealed himself in a private house, but was betrayed by him to whom he trusted himself into the hands of the Earl of Huntingdon, and so was sent to the Tower. The 1st of February the commons of the City of London were assembled in their liveries at guild-hall, and thither came the Queen with her Lords; and the Queen after she had spoken very much against Wiat, declared, that she had not a design to marry otherwise that as the council should think to be both honourable and commodious for the Realm, and therefore did desire them to assist her in oppressing such as contrary to their duty rebelled against her and she appointed Lord William Howard Lieutenant of the City. and the Earl of Pembroke General of the Field; and the young Earl of Devonshire had some command likewise; as Thuanus says. Wiat entered Southwark February 31 wherefore the draw-bridge was broken down, and ordnance planted to that part of the city. A general pardon was proclaimed to all that would give over and forsake the rebels. After Wiat had lain three days in Southwark, he turned his March to Kingston on Shrove-Tuesday in the morning, being the 6th of February, where he passed over the Thames, and designed to have come to London in the night; but the carriage of his chief ordnance breaking, he could not come before it was open day; and he was at

Hyde-Park by nine of the clock next morning, being Ashwednesday. The Earl of Pembroke had gathered a good body of men to have fallen on him, for his men were now in great disorder; but they looked on to let him cast himself into their hands; The Earl of Pembroke was in St.James's Fields, and his ordnance was so planted, that Wiat was forced to leave the common way, and with a small number of men came under St.James's wall, to keep himself from the danger of the ordnance, and so went by Charing-cross; there the Lord Clinton fell in between the several bodies of his men, and dispersed them, so that he had not five hundred left about him but with those that remained he passed through the Strand and Fleet-Street to Ludgate, where he stopped, in hopes to have found the gates opened to him: that hope failing, he returned back, and being now out of all heart, was taken at Temple-Bar by an herald.

Thuasus says, that the Earl of Devonshire with his men defended that gate, and Wiat desired that the gate might be opened to him as a friend; but the Earl refused; and whilst the Earl and Wiat were discousing about its the Earl of Pembroke rushed out on a sudden upon Wiat's forces that were left in the fields, and they being without their leader, were soon put to flight and at the same time the Earl of Devonshire made a sally out of the gate and siezed Wiatt nevertheless the Earl of Devonshire was accused of treason, and of being privy to Wiat's design, becuase he suffered him to come into the suburbs, and nearer to the city then he ought, and did not shew any enmity to Wiat, or do any hostile act against him, 'till the Earl of Pembroke had routed his army. But none of our English historians do mention any thing of this concerning the Earl of Devonshire, neither do any of them say that any such thing was laid to his charge.

If so great a man as Thuanus could mistake so much in writing of the affairs of England, and Monsieur Varillas could blunder so often in writing the Life of Wickliff, as Dr.Burnet has shewn he has done; then we may conclude, that a late French author, who has written the History of England, must from ignorance, if not from other causes, very much misrepresent our English history.

The Duke of Suffolk, who was taken on the 10th day of February, and sent to the Tower, was on the 17th day of the same month, conveyed to Westminster to be tried; and on his tryal he denied all that was laid to his charge, excepting that one should say at his table once at supper, That he would undertake with an hundred men to set the crown upon Courtenay's head. The Duke was found guilty, and condemned, and on the 24th of February was beheaded on Tower-Hill. The Earl of Devonshire and the Lady Elizabeth were suspected of the plot, as if the rising in the West had been set on by the Earl, with design, if it had succeeded, to have married the Lady Elizabeth, and put her in the Queen's room: and the Queen, who was much alienated from her sister upon old scores, was not unwilling to find a pretence for using her ill; so she was made a prisoner and the Earl of Devonshire had upon the account formerly mention'd offended the Queen, who thought her kindness ill-requited, when she saw he neglected her and preferred her sister; so he was again put into prison. He was carried prisoner to the Tower on the 12 day of February by the Lord Chamberlain, and two hundred men of the guards and as he entered into the Tower, the Lieutenant of the Tower asked him the cause of his coming thither, and he answered, He could not accuse himself. And upon Palm-Sunday, March 18, the Lady Elizabeth was committed to the Tower, The next day after the rising of

Sir Thomas Wiatt the Queen sent three of her counsellors with a troop of two hundred and fifty horse to Ashbridge, where the Lady Elizabeth was then sick in bed, so that the next day she was forced to be carried in a litter. When she came to court, she was straitway shut up, and kept a close prisoner for a fortnight, seeing neither the queen, nor any Lord, or friend, but only the then Lord Chamberlain, Sir John Gage, and the Vice-Chamberlain, who were attendants at the doors. On the Friday before Palm-Sunday, Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, with nineteen others of the council, came unto her grace from the Queen, and charged her with Wiat's conspiracy; which she utterly denied, affirming That she was altogether guiltless therein; They not being contented with this, charged her grace with the insurrection made by Sir Peter Carew, and the rest of the gentlemen of the West Country, which also she utterly denying, cleared her innocency therein. In conclusion, after long debating of matters, they declared unto her, that it was the queen's will and pleasure that she should go to the Tower where at she being very much surprized, said, That she trusted the queen's majesty would be a more gracious Lady unto her, and desired them to be a means to the Queen that she being a true woman in thought, word, and deed, towards her majesty, might not be committed to so notorious and doleful a place: On which the Lords answered again, that there was no remedy; for that the queen's majesty was fully determined that she should go to the Tower. Grace requested the Lords she might stay another tide, trusting that the next might be better, and more comfortable, and desired she might be suffered to write to the Queen; and, after a great deal of difficulty, she was permitted to write to the Queen; Whereupon she wrote, albeit she could not in any case be permitted to speak with the Queen, to her great discomfort. And thus the time and tide passed away for that season; they privily appointing all things ready, that she should go with the next tide, which fell about midnight; but for fear she should be taken by the way, they did not then carry her: so they staid 'till the next day, being Palm-Sunday, when about nine a-clock the two lords returned again, declaring, that it was time for her grace to depart. She answered, if there be no remedy, I must be contented; willing the lords to go before; and when she came out of the boat, having one foot upon the stair, she said, here landeth as true a subject, being prisoner, as ever landed at these stairs: and before thee, O GOD! I speak it, having no other friends but thee alone. On the 11th of April Sir Thomas Wiat was beheaded on Towerhill; He had behaved himself in a very abject manner at his tryal; and it is said, that in hopes of having his life, he did, before the council, accuse the Lady Elizabeth and the Earl of Devonshire as privy to his design; and as he was going down the Tower to his execution he was conveyed by the Lord Chamberlain and the Lord Chandois, Governour of the Tower, to the Tower over the water-gate, where the Earl of Devonshire lay, and there he remained in discourse with the Earl above half an hour; Upon the scaffold he said, Whereas it is noised abroad, that I should accuse the Lady Elizabeth and the Lord Courtenay; it is not so, good people; for I will assure you, that neither they, nor any other now yonder in hold, was privy to my rising before I began, as I have declared no less to the Queen and council, and it is most true. The bringing of him into the Earl of Devonshire's chamber was a politick contrivance

of Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, says Hollingshed; for this Bishop being always an enemy of the Princess, and thinking now by Sir Thomas Wiat to pick out some matter against the Lord Courtenay, and so in the end to entangle the Lady Elizabeth, contrived as was said, the same day that Sir Thomas died, that the Lieutenant of the Tower should bring him to the presence of the Lord Courtenay; and he, instead of perswading him to make confession, as Gardiner gave out, did before the Lieutenant of the Tower and the sheriffs, kneeling upon his knees, beseech the Lord Courtenay to forgive him; and being brought from thence unto the scaffold to suffer, he there openly, in the hearing of all the people, cleared both of them. At which confession Dr. Weston, as creature of the Bishop of Winchester, standing by, cried out to the people, and said, Believe him not, good people, for he confessed otherwise before the Council.

After the execution of Sir Thomas Wiat, news was brought to the Lord Mayor, Sir Thomas White, a little before dinner, that Wiat had cleared the Lady Elizabeth and the Earl of Devonshire, and the words were told him likewise that Dr. Weston spoke unto the people; whereupon the Lord Mayor said, Is it true? Did Weston say so? In truth I never took him but for a knave. When the Lord Mayor was set down to dinner, there came in Sir Martin Bowes and the recorder, just come from the Parliament-house, and hearing from the Lord Mayor and sheriffs what a confession Wiat had made, they wondered at it, declaring, that there was another report quite contrary to this in the Parliament-house that morning, viz.

That Sir Thomas Wiat should desire the Lord Courtenay to confess the truth, as he had done before,

A little after this it happened that a certain apprentice, dwelling in St. Lawrence Lane, whose name was cut, as he was drinking with one Dinhem, a plasterer, one of Queen Mary's servants, amongst other talk, said, how that Sir Thomas Wiat had cleared the Lady Elizabeth and the Lord Courtenay, as no way consenting to his rising; which words being carried to Doctor Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, Sir Andrew Jud was presently sent by the Bishop to the Lord Mayor, commanding him to bring the said apprentice to the star-chamber, who was accused that he should say That Wiat was constrained by the council to accuse the Lady Elizabeth and the Lord Courtenay; And as soon as they had brought him, the Bishop putting by other business, declared 'How miraculously G O D almighty had brought the queen's majesty to the crown: and whereas she took the Lady Elizabeth into her favour, and loved her so tenderly, and also the Lord Courtenay, who of long time had been detained in prison, and by her was set at liberty, and had received great benefits at her hands; yet notwithstanding all this, they had conspired most unnaturally and traiterously against her, with that hainous traytor Wiat, as by the confession of Wiat (said he) and the letters sent to and from, may plainly appear; and yet there was some in the City of London that reported, that Wiat was forced by the council to accuse the Lady Elizabeth and the Lord Courtenay; and yet you, my Lord Mayor, said he, have not seen them punished." The party is here, said the Lord Mayor; Take him with you, said the Bishop, and punish him according to his deserts. The Lord Shandois, Lieutenant of the Tower; standing by, and hearing what the Bishop said; to please the Bishop, and confirm what he had said, said, My Lords, this is a truth that I shall tell ye: being Lieutenant of the Tower when Wiat suffered, he desired me to bring him to the Lord Courtenay, which when I had done, he fell down upon

his knees, and desired him to confess the truth of himself, as he had done before, and submit himself to the queen's mercy. And thus much, says Mr.Fox, (and Hollingshed after him) I thought fit to declare, to the intent that the reader knowing the proceeding of the Bishop in this matter, and comparing the same with the testimony of Wiat himself, and the testimony of the sheriffs who were present at the same time when Sir Thomas Wiat asked the Lord Courtenay pardon, may the better judge of the whole case, for which the Lady Elizabeth and the Lord Courtenay were so long in trouble."

During the time that the Lady Elizabeth and the Lord Courtenay were in prison, a little boy, the son of a man that lived in the Tower, did use to resort unto their chambers, and did often bring her grace flowers, as he did to the other Princes that were there; whereupon some suspicious heads, thinking to make something of it, on a time call the child unto them, promising him figs and apples, and asked him when he had been with the Earl of Devonshire, knowing that he did use to go to him, The boy answered, That he would go by and by thither. Then they demanded of him, When he was with the Lady Elizabeth? He answered, every day. Then they asked him, What the Lord Devonshire sent by him to her grace? The child said, I will go and know what he will give to carry to her: Such was the descretion of the child, (says Mr.Fox) being but four years of age. This same is a crafty boy, said the Lord Chamberlain: How say YOU, my Lord Shandois? I pray you, my Lord, says the boy, give me the figs you promised me! No, quoth the Lord, that shalt be whipt, if thou come any more to the Lady Elizabeth, or the Lord Courtenay, The boy answered, I will bring my Lady and mistress more flowers; whereupon the child's father was commanded to permit the boy to come no more up into the chambers. The next day, as her grace was walking in the garden, the child peeping in at a hole in the door, cried unto her, mistress, I can bring no more flowers: Whereat she smiled, but said nothin, understanding thereby what they had done. Soon after the chamberlain rebuked highly his father, commanding him to put him out of the houses Alas! poor infant, said the father: It is a crafty knave, quoth the Lord Chamberlain, let me see him here no more.

On the 5th day of May, the Constable of the Tower was discharged of his office, and one Sir Henry Benifield placed in his room; a man unknown to her grace, and therefore the more to be feared; and on Trinity-Sunday, being the 19th of May, the Princess Elizabeth was removed from the Tower, and was by Sir Henry Benifield, who was appointed her keeper, and the Lord Tame, who was joined in commission with him, conveyed to Woodstock, where she was kept prisoner for a considerable time; and how she was used on her journey, and afterwards when she was at Woodstock, and what fears she was under of being secretly made away, Mr.Fox does shew at large.

On the 15th of May, 1554, the Earl of Devonshire was brought out of the Tower, at three a-clock in the morning, by Sir Thomas Tresham, Knight, Mr.Chamberlain of Suffolk, with certain of the guard being appointed to attend him, and was conveyed to Fodringham-Castle in Northamptonshire, where he was assigned to remain, under the custody of the said Sir Thomas and others.

On the 19th of July, the same year, the Prince of Spain arrived at Southampton, and on St.James's Day the marriage was solemnized between him and Queen Mary,

The next year, 1555, a little before Easter, the Earl of Devonshire, after he had lain almost a year in prison, was set at liberty, and came to court and about ten days after, the Lady Elizabeth came likewise to the Queens and nothing, says Heylin, did King Philip more honour amongst the English, that the great pains he took for the procuring the enlargement of the Princess Elizabeth and the Earl of Devonshire.

The Earl being thus set at liberty, find he was to lie under perpetual distrust, and that he might, perhaps, upon the first disorder, be committed to the Tower, to which his stars seemed to condemn him, resolved to go beyond sea, and having obtained leave of the Queen to travel, which before he petitioned for in vain, he passed the seas, crossed France, and came into Italy; and being at Padua, he sickened, and within fourteen days after his sickness first took him, he died, October 4, 1556; some say, not without suspicion of poison, which is commonly said of kings and great men; but if, as Bishop Godwin and Thuanus do say, he was suspected to be inclinable to the Lutheran religion, he being so near related to the crown, being the grand-son of Catherine the daughter of Edward IV. the Papists might make him away to prevent him from making any alteration in religion. This Earl, as it appeared, was born to be a prisoner; for from twelve years of age to almost thirty, at which age he died, he had scarce two years liberty, and obtained that quiet at his death which in his life he could never have. He was the twelfth and last Earl of Devonshire of that noble family, Second Marquess of Exeter, and fifteenth Baron of Okehampton; which last title the family possessed ever since it came into England to that time. And although Sir William Courtenay of Powderham-Castle that then was, was the next heir male, as being descended from Sir Philip Courtenay of Powderham, who was son of Hugh Courtenay, second of that name, Earl of Devonshire, and Margaret Bohun his wife, granddaughter of King Edward 1. and was next brother to Sir Edward Courtenay, from whom these last earls were descended; yet, however it came to pass, that great estate was divided amongst the four sisters of Edward Courtenay, second of that name, Earl of Devonshire, and aunts to this last Earl, and the titles afterwards of this last Earl, after his deplorable death, were reposit in St. Anthony's Church in Padua, where a noble Monument was erected to his memory, having this Inscription;

Anglia quem genuit, fueratque habitura patronum,
Corteneum celfe haec continet Arca Ducem.
Credita caufa necis Regni affectata cupido,
Reginae optatum tunc quoque connubium,
Cui Regni proceres non confenfere, Philippo
Reginam Regi jungere poffe raeti.
Europam undo fuit Juyeni peragrarè neceffe,
Ex quo Mors mifero contigit ante diem.
Anglia fi plorat defuncto principe tanto
Nil mirum; Domino deficit illa pio.
Sed jam Corteneus Caelo, fruiturque Beatis;
Cum doleant Angli, cum fine fine gemant
Cortenei probitas, igitur, praefantial Nomen
Dum stabit hoc Templum, vivida femper erunt
Anglia hinc etiam ftabit, ftabuntque Britanni.
Conjugii optati Fama perennis erit
Improba naturae leges Libitina refcindens
Ex aequo Juvenes praeciipitatque Senes.

"Under this stately Monument doth lye
 The Earl of Devonshire, Edward Courteny.
 He was born in England; and, had he liv'd longer,
 Would have been in England Patron and Defender.
 'Tis thought that the Cause of the Loss of his Life
 Was his Desire of having the Queen for a Wife;
 For of three that were named, the Peers did agree,
 That Philip of Spain the queen's Husband should be,
 Which made the noble Youth to go beyond Sea,
 Where before his Time Death took him away;
 If England laments the Death of this Prince,
 No Wonder: for her good Lord is gone hence,
 But now the great Courteny is in Heav'n with the Saints,
 Whilst the English for their Loss pour out their Complaints.
 The Name of Courteny, and his excelling Worth,
 As long as this Church stands shall be set forth;
 And as long as old England and Britains shall be,
 The Story of the Marriage remember will be.
 Most Cruel Death, breaking through Nature's Laws,
 On Young, as well as Old, doth lay his Paws."

This Epitaph is not very elegant, considering the age and place in which it was made; neither is it all true; for it says, that his not having the Queen for a wife was the cause of his traveling, and consequently of his death: but our historians do say, that he never desired to marry Queen Mary, but the Princess Elizabeth.

This Edward Earl of Devonshire, before his unfortunate journey into Italy, conveyed the Manour of Ailesbear, and the Manour of Whimble, which was formerly called Whimble-Courtenay, unto Sir Francis Inglefield, then master of the rolls, and Sir William Cordal, after him in the same office, upon trust, as it was supposed; but they retained the same to their own use; and some of the estates belonging to the Earldom were sold or given away by King Henry VIII. upon the attainder of Henry Marquess of Exeter. The great Park of Okehampton, Tiverton Park, and all the parks belonging to the Earldom, were destroyed by King Henry VIII. by means of Sir Richard Pollard; for he perswaded the King, that if the parks were disparked, there would grow thereby great benefit to the commonwealth, both in tillage and pasture; which the King believing, granted a commission to him for disparking all the parks belonging to the said Marquess: But the King not finding that benefit from it that he expected, and understanding that the gentry of the county were discontented at it, who were thus deprived of their sports and recreations, was much displeased, and called to him Sir Richard Pollard, and did so severely chide him, that Sir Richard took it so heavily, that he never enjoyed himself afterwards,

Mr.Carew saith, that King Henry VIII. affecting the Honour of Ewelme, and respecting the commodities that Wallingford-Castle might afford it, took the Castle by act of Parliament from the Dutchy of Cornwall, and in lieu thereof annexed certain Manours lying in Cornwall, falled to the Crown by the attainder of the Marquess of Exeter, which Queen Mary afterwards restored in tail to his son the Earl of Devon, and upon his dying without issue received them again. The Manour of Musberry, which

belonged to the ancient Barony of Okehampton, upon the Attainder of the Marquess of Exeter, was given by King Henry VIII. unto Sir Edward North, and after, by purchase, it come to John Drake of Ash; but Ash in Musberry, the seat of Sir William Drake, was anciently given by John Lord Courtenay, Baron of Okehampton, to Henry de Effe, or de Ashland so descended to the Drakes. The Manours of Coliton and Whitford did belong to the Earls of Devonshire, but King Henry VIII. after the attainder, sold the feefarmship of the tenants, reserving the rents and services and these were restored by Queen Mary to the last Earl, and he dying, they came to the heirs general; and a quarter part came to Sir William Pole, by purchase half to the Lord Peters; and a quarter to Sir John Drake. Colecomb, a seat of the Earl of Devonshire, which Henry Marquess of Exeter, was about to rebuild, if untimely death had not prevented him, was sold by the heirs general to Sir William Pole. Whitwell Manour escheated to the Crown by the attainder of the Marquess, and was sold to John Fry of Wicroft, and sold by him to John Willoughby, Esq. Fareway likewise by the attainder came to the Crown, and was bought by John Fry of Wicroft, and sold by him to John Willoughby, Esq. Stutcomb and Buckland-Trill in Axmouth belonged likewise to the Earls of Devonshire, 'till the attainder of the Marquess. Columb-John was by Edward Courtenay, first of that name, Earl of Devonshire, granted to Richard Bampfild, a younger son of the House of Poltimore, and to the heirs male of his body; but he died without issue,⁹ Henry VI, so as that it reverted unto Thomas Courteney, Earl of Devon; and after the attainder of the Marquess, it came to the Bassets, and so to the Acklands, and Sir John Ackland, Knight, builded upon a former foundation, begun by the Earl of Devonshire, a very fair house. The Manour of Ex-Island was given by King Edward VI. after the attainder of the Marquess of Exeter, to the City of Exeter, to the City of Exeter, for valiantly defending the City against the Cornish rebels; But Mr. Fuller in his Church History is much mistaken, when he says, that it did formerly belong to the city, but was wrested from it by the Earls of Devonshire; for it was part of the Barony of Okehampton from the time of the conquest, before ever the Earls of Devonshire had it; and they had it by being Barons of Okehampton. . Indeed Isaac in his Memoirs says, there was a trial at the affizes between Hugh Earl of Devonshire and the City of Exeter concerning Ex-Island; but that was concerning some rights and privileges that the Earl claimed as belonging to the Manour and not concerning the Manour itself; for Isaac says, that the city had the best of it in the Tryal, and yet the Manour remained in the family afterwards, The Moiety of Lammas-Fair fell to the crown upon the attainder of the Marquess, and afterward case to those that bought Topsham. The Manours of Larkboar, Huntsbeer, and the Borough of Newton-Popleford in the Parish of Ailesbeer, fell to the crown upon the attainder, and were purchased by John Haydon, Esq; of Coday. The Manour of Samford-Courtenay, as Sir William Pole saith, was upon the attainder given by King Henry VIII, to Kings-College in Cambridge: and no doubt there were several other branches of this great and noble estate that did belong to the Earls of Devonshire, that were sold, or given away by King Henry VIII. But what remained in the Crown, Queen Mary, as was said, restored unto Edward the last Earl of Devonshire, and he dying without issue, the bulk of that great estate was divided amongst the heirs of the four sisters of Edward, that was made Earl of Devonshire by King Henry VII. viz, Elizabeth, wife of John Tretherf; Maud, wife John Arundel of Talyer; Isabel, wife of William Mohuni and Florence, wife of

John Trelawny: Thus are they ranked in the last will of Earl Edward their brother. John Tretherf had by his wife Elizabeth a son named Thomas, who by the daughter of Trevisa had issue Elizabeth, the wife of John Vivian, and Margaret, wife of Edward Courtenay of Larrock; So that the estate which the last Earl of Devonshire had, which was very considerable, notwithstanding there so many branches lopped off from it, was divided into four parts, and one of the four parts subdivided into two; And I have seen, says Mr.Carew in his Survey of Cornwall, at Hall, a seat of Sir Reginald Mohun, a faggot whose age and painting do prove the tradition to be true, viz. that it was preserved by the Earls of Devonshire, whose seat it was; but whether from any foresight of what did happen afterwards I cannot tell, says he; This faggot being all one piece of wood, was, as it grew, wrapped about the middle part with a band, and parted at the end into four sticks; one of which was again subdivided into two; and so, as was said, the estate was divided between the heirs of the four daughters and one part of them again subdivided into two: and thus as the titles; of this noble family were given to others, so this ancient and great estate, part of which did belong to the Barons of Okehompton from the time of the conquest, and part to the Earls of Devonshire from a little time after, and were both united in the Family of Courtenay, and continued in that family for many generations, was, upon the death of this Earl, all torn to pieces and parcell'd out to strangers.

In the statute of 32 Hen.VIII. cap.49. of general pardon, Edward Courtenay, son of the late Marquess of Exeter, is excepted by name.

As in Henry VIIth's time there was one Lambert Symnel that feigned himself to be Edward Earl of Warwick, son of the Duke of Clarence, and at another time one Perkin Warbeck that feigned himself to be Richard Duke of York, second son to Edward IV. so a little after the death of the Earl of Devonshire, there was one Cleybery, or Cleyberd, who gave out that he was the Earl of Devonshire; and he, with some others, did endeavor to raise commotions in the County of Norfolk, and they made use of the Lady Elizabeth's name, and the Queen her sister told her of it; whereupon she wrote a very earnest letter to the Queen, wherein she declared her great detestation both of them and their practices: This Cleyberd was afterwards taken in Suffok, and executed at Bury.

The Arms of this Edward Earl of Devonshire were the same with those of his father.

BOOK III.

CHAPTER I.

Sir Philip Courtenay of Powderham-Castle, whose progeny is the subject of this book, was fifth son of Hugh Courtenay, second of that name, Earl of Devonshire, by Margaret his wife, daughter of Humphrey Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, and Lord High Constable of England, and grand-daughter of King Edward I. He was born about the year 1337, and was the first of that noble family of Courtenay of Powderham, which continueth there to this day, and is in a prosperous condition: He is called in his mother's will, Sir Philip Courtenay of Canon-leigh, and in some writings Sir Philip Courtenay of Bickley, Camden in his Britannia says, "That Powderham is the seat of a very noble family, the Courtenays, Knights, who being descended from the Earl of Devonshire, and related to the best families, are to this flourishing, and most worthy of such noble ancestors." And we may say the same thing of it still for it is not less, but more flourishing than it was then, having been matched to very honourable families since, and having a great addition made to their wealth by the great increase of their estate in Ireland. This Sir Philip Courtenay, first of the Powderham family, as Sir William Pole says, was an expert martial Knight, and served King Edward III. and King Richard II. in their wars; and some of his martial deeds are recorded in history; but no doubt there were many more which are not transmitted to us.

In the year 1366, Don Pedro, King of Castile, being outed of his kingdom by his bastard-brother Henry, came to Bordeaux, where Edward the Black Prince kept his court, and beseeched the Prince to help him to recover his Kingdom. The Prince sent to his father King Edward III. to know his mind in its The King gave his consent, that he should raise an army, and help the exclude King; and in this Army, as was amid before, when we spoke of Sir Hugh Courtenay, were the three brothers, Sir Hugh, Sir Philip, and Sir Peter Courtenay, The Black Prince met the bastard Henry near Navaret in Spain, and there engaged with him, and got a signal victory over him, slew many thousands of the enemy, with little loss on his side which great victory, together with that at Cressy and Poitiers, made the Prince renowned over all the world, saith Froissart. The day before the battle, the Prince knighted, together with

Don Pedro, King of Castile, and others, the three brothers Sir Hugh Courtenay, Sir Philip, and Sir Peter, as was said before. I cannot say Froissart, speak of all of them that did right nobly in that fight; but about the Prince in his battle were divers good knights; and amongst these he reckons up Sir Hugh and Sir Philip Courtenay.

In the year 1373, 47 Edward III. the Earl of Salisbury, with Sir Philip Courtenay and Sir Edward Nevill were sent to sea upon a rumour, that the French were upon the coast with six thousand men, designing to land. The Earl of Salisbury had forty sail of ships, besides barges, and two thousand men of arms, besides archers; and departing from Cornwall, he sailed to Bretagne, and coming to St.Malo's, burnt seven great Spanish ships in the haven; thence they sailed to Brest, and there relieved the garrison with men and provisions, where Sir Robert Knoles was besieged by the Constable Sir Bertrand de Guiselin; which having done, they took shipping with design to keep upon the coast of Bretagne and Normandy; about which time the King had recruited them with one thousand men at arms and two thousand archers. Here-upon the Earl went again to Brest, with a resolution to fight the French that lay before it; but before he got thither, the constable had withdrawn most of his men to other sieges upon an agreement made with the garrison to surrender in case they were not relieved in forty days, for the performance of which they had taken hostages. Upon the Earl's arrival, he sent to the constable either to fight or return the hostages, but he refused both; so the Earl having victualled the castle went to sea again, and kept upon the coast of Bretagne and Normandy as before.

In the beginning of King Richard the IId's reign, the French, who had been making preparations in King Edward's reign, and had mann'd out a fleet just before his death, to revenge all the losses they had sustained by his victorious sword, entered the narrow seas immediately after his decease; and whilst the nation was busy in settling their new king, invaded the coasts of England, and did much mischief, which they continued several months to do without opposition. They landed in the Isle of Wight in August, and having done what mischief they could, and having re-imbarked, in their return burnt Hastings, Portsmouth, Dartmouth, and Plymouth, And whilst the Duke of Lancaster was preparing a fleet to go against them, some of his men, weary of his slow proceedings and unnecessary delays, set out to sea under the command of the Earls of Salisbury and Arundell and sailed towards the coast of Brotagne. Sir Philip and Sir Peter Courtenay, two brothers, who had the command of some ships, espying some vessels belonging to the enemy, inconsiderately assulted them, being the whole Spanish fleet; and though they bravely fought, and defended themselves yet in the end were beaten; most of them, who were good gentlemen of Devonshire and Somersetshire, being slain: Sir Peter with some others were taken prisoners, and Sir Philip was sore wounded, but escaped the hands of his enemies. This misfortune at the first setting out much disheartened them, yet they persisted in their design, and went on in the intended voyage, which proved some compensation for their former loss; for being arrived upon the coast of France, they found the King of Navarre fallen into a difference with the King of France, and very desirous of an alliance with the King of England; whereupon, for a certain sum of money lent to the said King, a confederacy was established between the English and him, and the Haven of Cherburgh was put into the possession of the English, whereby an easier entrance was made for them at all times into Normandy, and present occasion given them to annoy the

the French. But this advantageous alliance was not thought a sufficient compensation for the loss of the gentlemen that were killed and taken captive at the beginning of this voyage.

In the year 1383, 7 Richard II. Sir Philip Courteney was made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland for ten years. Hooker in his Chronicle of Ireland says, besides Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, Campton affirmeth, that in Richard the 2^d's days were justices and lieutenants of Ireland specially recorded; Roger Mortimer, son of the said Earl; Philip Courtenay, the King's cousin; James Earl of Ormond; and Robert Vere, Earl of Oxford,

In 11 Richard II. the King granted to Sir Philip Courtenay, his cousin, the park of Bovytacy, and others in the County of Devon, forfeited to him as long as they remained in the King's hands upon the account of the forfeiture, which were parcels of the possessions of Robert de Vere, Marquess of Ireland.

In the year 1389, 12 Richard II, Sir Philip Courtenays Kt. is made steward of all the King's Manours and stanneries in the County of Cornwall. In 14 Richard II. the King granted to Sir Philip Courtenay and to Anne his wife, Dartmore-Forest, and the Manour of Bradnich.

In 1392. 15 Richard II. Sir Philip Courteney being returned for one of the Knights of the Shire for Devon, came before the King in Parliament, and was accused of sundry heinous matters: 1st, Thomas de Pontingdon complaineth against Sir Philip Courtenay, for wrongfully expelling him out of the Manour of Bickleigh. 2ndly, the like complaint was made by Richard Somerstre against Sir Philip, for expelling him out of four marks land in Thorverton, in the County of Devon. 3^dly, the Abbot of Newnham in Devon complaineth against the said Sir Philip, for imprisoning him and two of his monks with great force." Sir Philip being demanded thereof in full Parliament, could make no good justification; wherefor it was adjudged that he should not have to do with the Abbot, his Monks, nor any of their things; but he should be bound to the good behaviour, and for contempt was committed to the Tower. Sir Philip Courtenay, a little time after, prayed that he might be discharged, and that he might purge himself; and on Monday, November 25, at the request of the Lords and Commons, he was restored to his place and good name; for that he had submitted himself to reasonable arbitrament; and Sir Philip Courtenay and Thomas de Pontingdon promised in Parliament to abide the Order of certain persons then named by a day to be made; and Sir Philip and Richard Somestre did the same. Upon the hearing of the matter of Thomas Pontingdon, it was adjudged, that Sir Philip Courtenay and Anne his wife, in a assize brought, shall only plead in bar, that Nicholas son of Thomas Pontingdon was a bastard; wherein if it were found that the said Nicholas was a mulier, that the said Nicholas should recover; and Sir Philip in the tryal, in all probability, had the better of it; for the Manour of Bickleigh was in his family for many generations after.

In 22 Richard II. a commission is directed to Sir Philip Courtenay, Knight, and to Sir Peter Courtenay, Knight, to oversee and look after all the harbours in the County of Devon.

In 1 Henry IV. 1399, a commission is granted to him and to others, to enquire of the money concealed that is due to the King upon account of the alnage in the County of Devon.

This Sir Philip Courtenay married Anne daughter of Sir Thomas Wake, of Bisworth in the County of Northampton, who was the son of Hugh, younger son to Baldwin Lord Wake; and the Earl of Devonshire conferred upon his son Sir Philip Courtenay several Manours and great estates. And

And Ist, he gave him Powderham-Castle, with the Manour belonging to it; This castle stands near the confluence of the River Ex and the little River Kenn, about six miles from the City of Exeter, on the West Side of the Ex, and hath a fair prospect of that river, and is made now, by the present Sir William Courtenay, of an old castle, a most noble and delightsome seat, Mr.Risdeng in his description of Devonshire, has these verses upon it;

Where Ex meets curled Kenn with king Embarce,
In chrystal Arms they clip fair Powderham Place.

It is said by Mr.Cambden, that this castle was built by Isabel de Fortibus, Countess of Devonshire and Albemarle, the last of the family of Rivers or de Ripariis; But this is a mistake: for neither she, nor any of the Earls of Devonshire of the family of Rivers were possessed of it: Isabel de Fortibus, and her ancestors before her, were indeed possessed of the Manour of Exminster, adjoining to Powderham, where they had a great house, where the Earls of Devonshire did often reside, and where William Courtenay, Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, was born, and which was a seat of the Earls of Devonshire until the last Earl died in Padua. She had likewise the Manour of Topsham, on the other side of the river; and she built a wear upon the river, between Exminster and Topsham, called Countess-Wear to this day: But Powderham Castle was, in all probability, built by William de Ou, a noble Norman, that came in with William the Conqueror and had Powderham given to him by the King; or it might be built before the conquest, to keep the Danes from coming up the River to Exeter. This William de Ou is said in Domesday-Book to hold Powderham and Whitstone in Devon, and a great many estates in other Counties; and he is in that book stiled Comes de Ou; He, together with Robert Mowbray, Erl of Northumberland, and some other Lords, was accused of a plot to deprive King William Rufus of his crowns and to set up Stephen de Albemarle his aunt's son but the King quashed their design, and got most of the conspirators into his power: the Earl of Northumberland he committed to the Castle of Windsor, William de Ou at a council in Salisbury being overcome in a duel, the trial then used in such cases, had his eyes put out, and his privy-members cut off.

After that, Powderham had owners of its own name; and in Edward the 1st's time, John de Powderham held that, together with Whitstone, of the Honour of Hereford. And it is storied, that one John de Powderham, alias Powdras, a tanner's son, gave out that he himself was the true Edward, eldest son of the late King Edward I. and by a false nurse was changed in his cradle; and that the then King Edward II. was a carter's son laid in his place; but being to be hanged for his treason and forgery, he confessed he was forced to say what he did, by the instigation of a familiar spirit, which he had kept in his house In the likeness of a cat, which three years before that assured him that he should be King of England.

This Powderham being held of the Honour of Hereford, did, upon the death of John Powderham, by escheat or otherwise, come to Humphry de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, who gave it with his daughter Margaret in marriage, to Hugh Earl of Devonshire, and he gave it to his son Sir Philip Courtenay, and so it continues in the family to this day.

2. Whitstone: This Manour was, together with Powderham, given by the conquerors to William de Ou, and was afterwards held by John de Powderham,

Powderham, and fell to the Earl of Hereford in like manner as Powderham did, and was given by him with his daughter to the Earl of Devonshire, and he settled this likewise upon his son Sir Philip.

3. Honiton: This Manour and Borough was given by William the Conqueror to his half-brother Robert Earl of Moreton, who was son of Harlotta the Conqueror's mother; he was made Earl of Cornwall likewise by the Conqueror; to whom succeeded William his son, who siding with Robert the Norman against King Henry I. was taken prisoner, and lost both his liberty and honours: This Honiton together with his other lands escheated to the Crown, and King Henry I. gave it to Richard de Redvers, whom he made Earl of Devonshire; and Isabel de Fortibus; the last of the Family of Redvers, gave it, or sold it, to King Edward I. together with the Isle of Wight; But, some time after, when Hugh Courtenay, second of that name, was restored to the Earldom of Devonshire, he obtained the Manour of Honiton, as pertaining to his Earldom, or rather by purchase. Hugh the second, Earl of Devonshire, gave this likewise to his son, Sir Philip Courtenay, which he could not do, if it had continued part of the Earldom. But Sir Gilbert Knovil kept still the Manour of Battishorn, in the Parish of Honiton; which Manour, after it had several Lords, one of which was that Humphry Arundel that headed the Cornish rebels in the reign of Edward VI. was bought by Walter Yonge, Esq; and is now in the possession of Sir William Youge, Knight and Baronet. And Northcott, another Manour in that parish, was given by Baldwin de Redvers, Earl of Devonshire, to the Abbey of Bremer in Hampshire, founded by him; and upon the dissolution of the Abbeys it came, by purchase, unto Minisy, and so unto Pearce, and from Pearce to Blagdon; and Henry Blagdon, Esq; doth now enjoy it. There are other little Manours in the Parish of Honiton, but Sir William Courtenay is Lord-Paramount, and has the great Manour from which the rest were parcelled; and has view of Frank-Pledge, assize of bread and ale, and Tumbrell and Pillory belonging to it.

4. The Manour of Assington did belong to Sir Philip Courtenay of Powderham, and does still belong to that family. In the 5th of Richard II. Sir Hugh Begrave, Knight, made exchange with Sir Philip Courtenay of the Manour of Assington for the Manour of Newnham-Courtenay in Oxfordshire. The Arms of Courtenay, with the dolphin and boar for their supporters, are to be seen in the church-porch of Assington cut In stone,

5. Cadley: This Manour was formerly the Mohuns of Dunstar-Castle, and granted by John Lord Mohun to Hugh, third of that name, Earl of Devonshire, and he settled it upon his son Sir Philip Courtenay. It is said, that in 39 Edward III. John de Mohun, Lord de Dunsterre, granted to Hugh Courtenay, Earl of Devon, and Margaret his wife, and their heirs, all his knights-fees which he had in the County of Devon, and all the services of his tenants, who do hold of him by knights service in the same county.

6. Bickleigh; This Manour was Sir Philip Courtenay's of Powderham Castle; and, as was said before, there was a law-suit between Sir Philip and Thomas Pontington concerning it, and Sir Philip Courtenay had the better of it; for it was in the family several generations after. There were other Manours that were settled upon Sir Philip Courtenay by his father the Earl of Devonshire, and many more descended to his heir upon the death of Sir Peter Courtenay his brother. Six

Sir Philip Courtenay had by his wife Anne, daughter of Sir Thomas Wake of Bisworth, three sons, Richard Bishop of Norwich, Sir John and Sir William; of the Bishop of Norwich and Sir John I shall speak in the following chapters: He had also two daughters, Margaret, to whom the Countess of Devonshire gave an hundred marks in augmentation of her fortune: she was married to Sir Robert Cary of Cockington, son of Sir John Cary, Knight, Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, of whom there goeth this story: In the beginning of the reign of King Henry V. a certain Knight of Arragon, who had passed through divers countries, and performed many feats of arms to his high commendation arrived here in England, where he challenged any man of his rank and quality to make tryal of his valour and skill in arms: Sir Robert Cary accepted his challenge, and between them a cruel encounters and a long and doubtful combat, was waged in Smithfield, London; but at length Sir Robert Cary vanquished this noble Knight of Arragon, for which King Henry V. restored to Sir Robert Cary a good part of his father's lands, which were taken from him by Henry IV. for sticking close to his sovereign King Richard II. and authorized him to bear the arms of the Knights of Arragon, viz. In a Field Argent, on a Bend Sable 3 white Roses, which the posterity of this gentleman continue to bear to this day; For according to the laws of heraldry, whosoever in the field conquers his adversary may justify the bearing of his arms. From this Sir Robert Courtenay and Margaret Courtenay his wife were descended, besides the Carys in Devonshire, the noble family of Cary in the Eastern parts of England of which there were, at the same time, two Earls, Monmouth and Dover, and one Viscount Faulkland.

Sir Philip Courtenay, in all probability, had another daughter, named Agnes; for in Tiverton Church there were the Arms of Chambernoun, having the Arms of Courtenay of Powderham impaled with them; and the Countess of Devonshire, Sir Philip Courtenay's mother, did by her last will give a legacy to Agnes Chambernoun, and made Otes Chambernoun one of her executors.

In 7 Henry IV. there was an Inquisition taken after his death, and the jurors did say, that Sir Philip Courtenay at his death was seized in fee-tail, of the Manours of Powderham, Honiton, Moreton, Chiverton, and many others, of the gift of Hugh Courtenay, Earl of Devon; and that the said Sir Philip died 29 July, 7 Henry IV. and that Richard Courtenay, clerk is his son and heir.

Sir Philip Courtenay of Powderham's arms were, A Field Or, 3 Torteaux, with a Label Azure of 3 Points, charged with 9 Plates for Distinction. The Arms of his wife Anne Wake were, Argent, 2 Bars Sules, 3 Torteaux in chief.

CHAPTER II.

Richard Courtenay, Lord Bishop of Norwich, was eldest son of Sir Philip Courtenay of Powderham; and Mr.Prince says he was born there: the Countess of Devonshire, his grandmother, left him a legacy by her will: He had the education of his youth under his uncle William Lord Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, who took him and educated him as his own adopted son, which is the title his grace bestowed upon him in that clause of his will, by which he gave him a legacy of one hundred marks: The words are these; Item lego Richardo Courtenay, Filio & Alumno meo C Marces. The Arch-Bishop being thus tender of him, took very great care about his education and had him well brought up in virtue and learning, and was sent by him to the University of Oxford, where he was a very successful student, became excellently well learned, and was famous for his learning and knowledge especially for his skill in both laws civil and canon, as his uncle the Arch-Bishop was: his uncle had devoted him from his youth to the service of the church, and designed him for the clergy; and that he might the more encourage him to undertake the holy function, he not only bestowed upon him large sums of money to bring him up in learning, but some particular gifts leading and inclining him thereto; thus he bequeathed unto him by his will many books, in case he should be a clergyman, and his best mitre, if it happened that he should be a Bishop. Nor was the young gentleman wanting to the good wishes of his uncle neither did he fail his expectation; for a little time after his uncle's decease, he was admitted into holy orders; and not long after that, in the year 1402, he was Dean of St.Asoph; and on the 1st of June, 1403, he was admitted Canon of the Church of York. In the year 1406, he was, as Mr.Wood says, made Doctor of Laws; and the same year, on the Feast of St.John Baptist, he was chosen Chancellor of the University; and in that year, it is said, there were Letters Testimonial in the behalf of Wickliff given by the University, and sealed by their common seal. In these it is said of him, that his conversation, even from his youth unto the time of his death, was in the University so praise-worthy and honest, that never at any time was there an offence given by him, neither was he aspersed with any note of infamy, or sinister suspicion, This Testimonium is printed at the end of the works of John Huss; and there has been a great dispute whether it were genuine or not: One Dr.Thomas Bascoigne, who lived a little time after, said it was a forgery, and that one Peter Pain, an heretick, stole the common seal of the University, and affixed it to this testimonial. And Mr.Collier, in his Ecclesiastical History, says that it was counterfeited and he gives some reasons to shew that it was so; and he finds fault with Mr.Fox, for making no question about its credit when he mentions it: and Mr.Johnson in his Collection of Ecclesiastical Laws, says the Encomium given by the University of Oxford to Wickliff, at the end of the Works of John Huss, and the affirmation that he never had been condemned by the Bishops, must be misdated; 1406 is too late for such a representation. On the other hand, Mr.Fox makes mention of it as a true thing; and Mr.Lewis, in his Life of Wickliff, does suppose it to be true, and not forged, and takes a great deal of pains to prove that it was so: But it is to be observed, that Mr.Wickliff had

had been dead twenty years before this testimonial is said to be given; and how could the University give a testimonial of the life and conversation of a man that had been dead twenty years before, when few or none of them could have any personal knowledge of him? And besides, it is said in the Testimonial, that Wickliff had never been condemned by the Bishops, whereas Arch-Bishop Courtenay censured both him and his doctrine long before; and therefore Mr. Johnson says, it is dated too late to be true; and it is said by those that do affirm it is forged, that it never was put into the University Register, and that upon account, that the seal of the University was stolen away, and surreptitiously put to it, there was a statute made by the University, which orders, that nothing hereafter shall be sealed with the common seal of the University, but in a full congregation of regents, if it be a full term; or in a convocation of regents and non-regents in the time of vacation; nor that any thing written shall be sealed with the seal aforesaid, unless the tenor of it be maturely debated a whole day in a full congregation of regents, if it be full terms or in a convocation of regents and non-regents in vacation-time: and that no deliberation in a congregation of regents shall be fully decided the first day. It is said likewise by those that do affirm the testimonial was forged, that some English men did, at the Council of Constance, produce a copy of this testimonial, and said that it was suppositions, and made it a part of their charge against John Huss, that he read it from the pulpit to recommend Wickliff to the people. Mr. Lewis, in answer to this, says, that this statute of the University that is mentioned was made twenty years after that testimonial is said to be given; and that which was done twenty years before, it is not likely should give occasion to a statute made twenty years after; but the statute might be made upon the occasion of mentioning the forged testimonial in the Council of Constance. But that statute, says Mr. Lewis, was made five years after the Council; and he says likewise, that had it been a forgery, how could the University well have done less on such an occasion, than have declared, by an authentick writing, that their seal was put to that writing without their knowledge or consent? Mr. Lewis says, the chancellor that year was Richard Courtenay, of Exeter-College, who was afterwards Dean of Wells and Bishop of Norwich: The commissaries, or vice-chancellors, are said to be John Whyttehede and John Drum, both of University-College: The proctors, Walter Logardyn of Merton-College, and Adam Skelton of Queen's-College. I cannot find, says Mr. Lewis, that any of these were any way remarkable for any opposition made by them to Wickliff, or their showing any hatred of his memory; but we find that the chancellor, whatever the others were, was a great opposer of all those that embraced the Doctrines of Wickliff. In the year 1407, Richard Courtenay was chosen chancellor again, and at his desire, that years King Henry IV. gave to the University a large silver cross gilt. In the year 1408f, he was made canon of Wells. In the next year, 1409, Mr. Fox says he was chancellor; and in that year, one John Badby, a taylor, was brought to Smithfield to be burnt for heresy; and the Prince, the King's eldest son, afterwards the famous King Henry V. Was present, and endeavoured all that could to save the life of the poor man, and advised him to recant and save himself, and sometimes he added threatnings to see to force him from his opinions, and all would not do and Mr. Courtenay, Chancellor of Oxfordt preached unto him, and informed him of the faith of the Holy Church; and Mr. Fox has in his book a picture of the execution of this man, and in it there is the Chancellor of Oxford with a mitre on his head, and the Prince

Prince sitting by on horseback; but why Fox should picture the chancellor with a mitre on his head, I cannot tell; for he was not then Bishop. In that year, 1409, Mr. Richard Courteney was made Canon of Wells. In the year 1410, forty five articles of John Wickliff's that were this year condemned at London, were with others condemned at Oxford, in the convocation-house, June 26, by the chancellor's order; present, not only the doctors and regent-masters, but also Mr. Richard Courtenay and Mr. Richard Talbot, noblemen and then the Books of Wickliff, in which some of these articles were contained, were burnt at Carfax.

In the year 1411, there were several chancellors; 1. Mr. Richard Courtenay; 2. John Banard; 3. Mr. Richard Courtenay again: for this year the Doctrine of Wickliff spreading more and more, the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, Thomas Arundel, was resolved to visit the University, and he sent his citation to the doctors, masters, and scholars, that they should prepare themselves for the visitation against his coming; but when he came near the city, being accompanied with a great many men of note, amongst whom was Thomas Earl of Arundel his nephew, Richard Courtenay, whom by his sir-name and high spirit I should guess to be descended from the Earls of Devonshire, saith Mr. Fuller in his Church History, accompanied with the proctors, Benedict Brent and John Byrch, and a great company of scholars, went out to meet him and the chancellor told the Arch-Bishop, that if he came as a guest, his company was very acceptable to the University; but if he did design to visit the University, he did let him know, that the University has, by the Pope's bull, been a long time free from the Visitation of any Bishop, or Arch-Bishop: at which the Arch-Bishop being angry, and having staid one or two days at Oxford departed, and acquainted the King by letter how he had been used by the University: and the King commanded some of the Chief of the University to appear before him the day after the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, and to bring with them the bull of the Pope, by which they did defend what they had done.

What was done upon this, saith Mr. Wood, I cannot tell; but it appeareth, that the Chancellor and Proctors, did afterward, whether voluntarily or by compulsion, lay down their offices. And the King wrote to the University, that the Cancellarius Natus, or the Senior Divine, should take upon him the government of the University, which was Edmund Beckingham, Warden of Merton, and that he should hold it 'till others were elected in the room of those that were removed: upon which there was such great concern and sorrow all over the University, that the scholars leaving off their lectures, and disposing themselves, did seem to put an end to the University, according to the statue in that case made, saith Mr. Wood; by which it was ordained, that they should fly to such sort of remedy, if any one did invade their liberties and privileges, Which when the King knew, he sent several letters to the University; in the first of which he sharply reprov'd them for what they had done; but in another he exhorted them with kind words to return to their lectures again. A little time after, that the University might not suffer for want of governours, the King sent orders that in the place of those removed there should be chosen others, who should supply their place for the remainder of the year; and the year was run out as far as October; then the University chose Richard Courtenay for their chancellor, and Benedict Brent and John Byrch proctors, who had been before removed, which the King being acquainted with by letters sent by the University to excuse the matter, he was very angry, and by letter did reprimand the University; but at length, after divers contentions

between the University and the Arch-Bishop, they agreed to stand to the King's determination, and the King about the middle of December heard the matter; and adjudged, that what had been decreed by King Richard II. as to the rights and privileges of the University should stand firm, Mr.Fuller in his Church History says, that at the hearing before the King the chancellor of the University produced a great many bulls granted by Popes; but the Arch-Bishop produced one writ or instrument made in the reign of King Richard II. wherein the King adjudged all their Papal privileges void, as granted to the damage of the crown, and much occasioning the increase of Lollards: hereupon the King pronounced sentence for the Arch-Bishop, as by the instrument will appear. And Mr.Fuller says, that Sir Edward Coke, in the 4th book of his Institutes of the Jurisdiction of Courts, accounteth this Oxford Act of King Henry IV. a noble act of kingly power in that age. But it does not appear that ever King Richard did declare, that the rights and privileges of the University were actually void; but he did, at the advice of the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, send three letters to them, in one of which he commands them, "That if they did find any within their jurisdiction to be suspected of heresy, or of holding any of the Doctrine or conclusions condemned by the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, or that did harbour in their Houses John Wickliff, Nicholas Hereford, or any other hereticks that they should banish them from the University: and he commands them likewise, that they should make search throughout the University for all heretical books written by John Wickliff, Nicholas Hereford, or any other; and if they did find any, to send them up within one month to the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury: and this the King enjoined them to do upon the faith and allegiance that they owed to him, and upon the penalty of forfeiting all and singular their liberties and privileges, and all other things which they could forfeit to him."

From this it is likely King Henry IV. did infer, that notwithstanding the Pope's bulls, the liberties and privileges of the University might be forfeited to him, and upon this he gave judgement for the Arch-Bishop; But this it seems the Arch-Bishop did not think sufficient, for in the next year he obtained from Pope John a bull revoking that of Pope Boniface, which did exempt the University from Archiepiscopal Visitation, and caused it to be published in the University; which Bull of Pope John, Sixtus IV. afterwards made void, and restored to the University their ancient privileges. The King, at the request of the chancellor and some of the masters, was in a little time reconciled to the University. The proctors had been put into the Tower for what they had done, as appears by letters of the University, dated November 22, to the Arch-Bishop, in which they petition for clemency towards the proctors but the young scholars, who were ready to receive the Arch-Bishop with swords and bows, were for their insolence ordered to be whipped: neither is it to be omitted, saith Mr.Wood, that the commissary and proctors in the interregnum, as he calls it, exhausted the treasury of the University, because a great many of the scholars left the University, for that they thought the privileges of the University were trodden under foot, the grants of the Popes being despised. And after all, Mr.Richard Courtenay, the Chancellor, pronounced Hugh Holbach, Howel Kiffing, John Holand, and William Cruston, Doctors of Laws, guilty of perjury, and expelled them the University, because that they being commissaries to the Arch-Bishop in the said designed visitation, did lend their helping hand to the destroying of the privileges of the University, which they were bound by oath to defend,

Mr.Wood saith, that Mr.Richard Courtenay occurs chancellor again in the year 1412; and in the year 1413, the 1st of King Henry V. being then Chancellor of the University, he was chosen by the Chapter of Norwich Bishop of that places at the instance of King Henry V.and was that year honourably consecrated at Canterbury by Thomas Arundel, Arch-Bishop, the King and divers nobles being present, A Monk that writ of the Bishops of Norwich says of him, That he was noble in blood, tall in stature, of a comely countenance an eloquent tougue, and every way graceful presence. And Herpsfield says of him, That he was famous for his descent, his morals and his learning. And Bishop Godwin says, He was a man of great nobility, great learning, and great virtuel famous for his excellent knowledge in both laws, very personable, much favoured by the King, and no less beloved by the common people: He being very much hindered by the business of the King and kingdom that he was employed about (for it is said that he was employed by the King in the most difficult affairs of state) was never installed.

When King Herny IV.married his daughter Philippa to John King of Denmark and Norway, Mr.Richard Courtenay was ordered to accompany her in her voyage to Denmark. He was one of those that went upon that honourable embassy which King Henry V. sent to the French King, by which he demanded the Kingdom of France as due to him by right of descent; and he declared by his ambassadors, that if the French King would not deliver it up, he would recover his right by arms: and when the ambassadors could not obtain what the King demanded from the French Kingg but their demand was laughed at as extravagant, King Henry immediately proclaimed war against France, in which war he conquered almost all that country, as our historians do shew. And the King going speedily after into Normany to prosecute the war; the Bishop of Norwich, in the second year of his consecration, attended him in that expedition;and as the King was besieging Harslew, by the eating of fruit, by the coldness of the night, and by the stench of dead carcasses, a great many died of the dyssentery, or the bloody flux, amongst whom was the Bishop of Norwich, who died the 18th of September, 1415, 3 Henry V. in the prime of his age: his death was a great loss to the whole nation. His body being brought into England, was with great solemnity honourably interred in Westminster-Abbey, in the burying-place of the Kings upon the north side of Saint Edward's shrine, in the going in at the door behind the great altar,

"As the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, his uncle, as Herpsfield says of him, was a stout defender of the rights of the Church and of his metropolitical see in particular, so this Bishop was a stout defender of the privileges of the University of Oxford, and if he had lived longer, no doubt he would have been preferred higher in the Church." As for his benefactions, he had not time to do much, yet something of that nature he did to eternize his memory; For Thomas Cobham, Bishop of Worcester, having laid the foundation of a publick library in the University of Oxford, died before he could bring it to perfection and although there were several benefactors to it afterwards, yet the work received ats last hand in the time and by the care of this honourable prelate, which was near an hundred years after it was first begun. It was afterward furnished by Humphry Duke of Gloucester with one hundred and twenty nine choice books, all of them manuscripts, which he procured out of Italy. It was new-built, or else repaired and beautified, in the reign of Edward IV. and is that stately structure that containeth the Divinity-school and the library over.

In the 13th of Henry IV. upon the death of Sir Peter Courtenay, his uncle, the Bishop of Norwich had a great addition made to his estatel for Sir Peter dying without issue, all the estates that his father the Earl of Devonshire settled upon him came to his nephew the Bishop of Norwich for so the Earl ordered in the settlement, viz. That in case Sir Peter should died without heirs, the estates should go to Sir Philip and his heirs. And

1. Moreton came to the Bishop by the death of his uncle; This Manour was sold by Henry de Tracy to Geoffrey Fitzpeter, Earl of Essex, and Lord Chief Justice of England: and King Edward III. granted in the 7th year of his reign to Hugh Courtenay, first Earl of Devonshire, and exemplification of a grant made by Henry de Tracy to Geoffry Fitzpeter, of the Manour of Moreton, with King John's confirmation in the 1st year of his reign: It was bought by this Hugh Earl of Devonshire, and given by him to Sir Philip Courtenay his brother, who was Sir Philip Courtenay of Moreton, who was killed in the Battle of Sterling, as was said beforel and after that the Earl of Devonshire gave it to his son Robert, and he dying without issue, it came to Hugh Courtenay, second Earl of Devonshire of that name, Robert's elder brother, and he settled it upon Sir Peter Courtenay; and; for want of heirs, upon Sir Philip and his heirs, as was said before; and so it came to the Bishop, as heir to his father Sir Philip, and it continues in the family to this day.

2. All the lands of Sir John Chiverston came to the Bishop of Norwich; This Sir John Chiverstan married John the daughter of Hugh Courtenay, second of that name, Earl of Devonshire; and in case of failure of issue, he settled his estate upon his father-in-law the Earl of Devonshire; and he dying without issue, the Earl of Devonshire had his lands, and conferred them all upon his son Sir Peter, in the same manner as he did Moreton. And Ilton-Cestle being the chief seat of Sir John Chiverston, he was stiled Sir John Chiverston of Ilton-Castle, and Sir Peter Courtenay after him was call'd Sir Peter Courtenay of Ilton-Castle. This Castle was demolished about forty years since. It did stand upon the river that cometh from Dodbrook and falleth into Salcomb, and was in the Parish of Marleborough, which parish, together with the Castle, did come to the Bishop of Norwich; as also the Manour of Thurleston near by; also Chiverston, and other estates which had been the Lands of Chiverston: and all these, together with the lands given by the Earl of Devonshire to his son Sir Philip Courtenay, excepting Cadely, are still in the possession of the honorable family of Powderham.

There was an inquisition taken after the Bishop's death, and the jurors did say, that Richard Courtenay, Bishop of Norwich, died siezed of the Manours of Powderham, Plympton, Moreton, Honiton, Alsington, and many other Manours; and that he died on Sunday after the Exaltation of the Holy Cross; and that Philip Courtenay, son and heir of John Courtenay, Knight, brother of the said Richard Courtenay, is his next heir, and is eleven years old.

The Arms of Richard Courtenay, Bishop of Norwich, were the same with those of his father, impaled with the Arms of the Bishoprick of Norwich.

CHAPTER III.

Sir John Courtenay was second son of Sir Philip Courtenay, and brother to Richard Courtenay, Bishop of Norwich: he married Joan daughter of Alexander Champernoun of Beer-Ferrers, and widow of Sir James Chudleigh, Knight. In the 4th of Henry IV. Thomas Pomeroy, Knight, and Joan his wife complain in Parliament, that John the son of Sir Philip Courtenay, and Joan the late wife of Sir James Chudleigh, Knight, deceased, had forcibly, by the maintenance of the said Sir Philip Courtenay, entered into the Manours of Clifton, Ashton, Shaple-Hillion, Kakesbread, Asselton, and into certain lands in Exeter in the County of Devon, and into the Manour of West-Ridmouth in the County of Cornwall, being the inheritance of the said Thomas Pomeroy, and praying remedy; upon the examination whereof it was adjudged by the King and Lords, that the said Thomas should enter, if his entry were lawful, or else to have his assize without all delays, to be tried with more favour at the election of the said Sir Thomas.

Sir James Chudleigh of Ashton had by his first wife Joan Pomeroy, daughter of Sir Henry Pomeroy, one only daughter named Joan, who was married to Sir Thomas Pomeroy of Stoke-Sabriell and this Sir Thomas and his wife Joan are they that complain to Parliament against Sir Philip Courtenay, Sir John Courtenay and his Lady. Sir James Chudleigh had by his second wife, John daughter of Sir Alexander Champernoun, a son named James, who inherited his father's estate, which his half-sister laid claim to, but without any reason; for if it had been her right it would not have descended to the Chudleighs; and therefore Sir John Courtenay, and his Lady were in the right to stand up in vindication of Sir James Chudleigh's son against his sister, and Sir Philip Courtenay did well in assisting of them to defend the right of the lawful heir,

Sir John Courtenay had a younger brother named William, as was said before: The Bishop of Norwich gave to him and his heirs the Manour of Columpe-Sackville: He was Knighted and out-lived both his brothers, and died 7 Henry V. 1419: But neither of them did live long, for they all three died young, or else we should have heard more of their actions.

Sir John Courtenay died before his elder brother the Bishop, if not before his father, and so never enjoyed the estate: he had by his Lady two sons, Sir Philip and Sir Humphry; of Sir Philip I shall speak in the Chapter following.

The Arms of Sir John Courtenay were the same with his father's, impaled with those of his wife, viz. Gules, a Saltire verrey between twelve Billets, Or.

CHAPTER IV.

Sir Philip Courtenay, second of that name, of Powderham-Castle, was born in the year 1404; he was very young when his father died, and was not full eleven years old when his uncle the Bishop of Norwich died. He married Elizabeth daughter of Walter Lord Hungerford, and had with her the Manour of Molland-Botreaux in Devonshire: It is called Molland-Botreaux, to distinguish it from another Manour called Molland-Sarazen in the same parish; and it is called Molland-Botreaux from the Family of Botreaux until the reign of Henry VI. when it came to the Family of Hungerford by Margaret daughter of William Lord Botreaux, who was married to Robert Lord Hungerford: and Sir Philip Courtenay marrying the daughter of Walter Lord Hungerford was Lord Hightreasurer of England in the reign of Henry VI. and he did by his testament, bearing date July 1, 1449, 27 Henry VI give to Elizabeth his daughter, wife of Sir Philip Courtenay, Knight, a cup of gold.

Sir Philip Courtenay is reckoned by Sir William Pole amongst the famous men that were in Devonshire in the time of Henry VI. and Edward IV. And it is highly probable, that in that fatal quarrel between the House of York and Lancaster, he sided with the House of York; for he had two sons that acted for that House, and he had another that was made Bishop by Edward IV. He had by his Lady several sons and two daughters: The 1st was Sir William, of whom I shall speak in the next Chapter: 2. Sir Philip, who had Molland given him for his portion, and was Sir Philip Courtenay of Molland: he married a daughter of Robert Higeston of Wonewell, and had issue by her two sons and two daughters his first son was John, who succeeded his father in his estate, and married Joan daughter of Robert Brett of Pillond in Pilton Parish, and died in the year 1510, 2 Henry VIII, and was buried in Molland Church with this inscription upon his grave;

Hic jace Johannes Courtenay, Armiger,
qui obiit 270 died Martii, A.D. 1510.
Cujus Animae propitiatur Deus.

This John Courtenay had a son named Philip, who was sixteen years old when his father died, and it was he that continued the family.

Sir Philip Courtenay of Molland's second son was called William: He was seated at Loughter in the Parish of Plimpton-Mary, and he had a son named Philip, whom Sir William Pole calls Sir Philip Courtenay of Loughter, who, by Jane daughter of Richard Fowel of Fowels-comb, had one only daughter named Elizabeth, who was married to William Strode of Newenham; and Sir Philip Courtenay of Loughter's widow was married to Humphry Prideaux of Theoborow, from whom the Family of the Prideaux's that now are have their descent.

Sir Philip Courtenay of Molland's 1st daughter, Elizabeth, was married to Sir Edward Courtenay, made Earl of Devonshire by King Henry VII. 2. Margaret married to Sir John Champernoun of Modbury. Sir Philip Courtenay

Courtenay of Molland was Sheriff of Devonshire 10 Edward IV. and his family continued for many generations in a flourishing condition down to the year 1732, when John Courtenay of Holland, the last male of the family, died without issue, and his brother George, a little before, in that year, died without issue likewise, and they left only two sisters.

Sir Philip Courtenay of Powderham's 3d son was Peter Bishop of Winchester, of whom I shall treat in a chapter following that of his brother. The 4th son was Sir Edmund of Deviock, who had issue Richard Courtenay of Lesttythiel in Cornwall, who had issue Laurence Courtenay of Enthy, who had issue Francis Courtenay of Enthy, and from him are descended all the Courtenays in Cornwall. The 5th son was Sir Walter: He married Alice daughter and co-heir of Walter de Kilrington; alias Colebrook, in the Parish of Bradnidges she was afterwards married unto Sir John Vere. This Sir Walter (or else Sir Walter brother to Sir Edward Courtenay, who married a daughter of Sir John Arundel of Talvern) was with Sir Edward Courtenay and Peter Courteney, Bishop of Exeter; when they made an insurrection against King Richard III. and fled with them into Brittany to the Earl of Richmond, afterwards King Henry VII. The 6th son of Sir Philip Courtenay was Sir John: He was in the Battle of Tewksbury, and fought on the side of King Edward IV. in which battle King Edward got the victory; and presently after the fight, as Stow says, he made bannerets Sir John Courtenay and Sir Thomas Grey. This Sir John Courtenay that Stow mentions must be the son of Sir Philip Courtenay of Powderham; for John Earl of Devonshire, the last of that branch, and Sir Hugh Courtenay of Boconock, fought on the other side and were killed, but Sir Philip Courtenay and his sons were for the House of York, as was observed before. The 7th son of Sir Philip Courtenay was Humphry, and he had Bickleigh given his by his father for his portion: he died young, and left an only daughter named Elizabeth, who was committed to the care of Sir William Carew's Lady, daughter to Sir William Courtenay, Humphry's elder brother. Mr. Thomas Carew, Sir William Carow's younger brother, living in the same house with this young Lady, secretly by night carried her away; at which the relations both of him and the young Lady were highly displeased, and he to pacify them thought fit to absent himself from them for a time.

At that time, in the year 1513, 5 Henry VIII. the Scots taking the advantage of the King's being in France invaded the north part of England, and the Earl of Surrey marched against them; and his son the Lord Howard, Lord Admiral of England, brought to him by sea a great supply of good soldiers, amongst whom was this Mr. Thomas Carew.

The Earl of Surrey marched his army from Newcastle, and pitched his camp beside a little town under Flodden-Hill, on the top of which King James IV. of Scotland with his forces, near one hundred thousand, was so strongly encamped, that it was impossible to come near them without great disadvantage. Before the battle began, a valiant Scottish Knight made a challenge to fight with any English man for the honour of his country: Mr. Carew begged the favour of the Admiral that he might be admitted to the honour of answering the challenge it was granted to him, and they both met in the place appointed; and Mr. Carew, to his high commendation, got the victory, which was, it seems, only an earnest of that which happened soon after; for presently after that followed the famous battle, called the Battle of Floddenfield, in which the Scots were routed, the King himself with a multitude of noblemen and gentlemen were slain, thirteen thousand of the common soldiers were also slain, and as many

many taken, prisoners, with the loss only of about one thousand English men.

Buchanan relates a story of this King James IV. and it is this: the King intending to make this war with England, a certain old man of venerable aspect, clad in a long blue garment, came unto him, and leaning familiarly upon the chair wherein the King sat, said this to him; I am come to thee, O King! to give thee warning that thou proceed not in the war that thou art about, for if thou dost it will be thy ruin. Having so said, he pressed through the company and vanished out of sight, so that by no enquiry it could be known what was became of him; but the King would not be affrighted from his designed invasion.

I mention this story, because it is much like that related before concerning Henry Courtenay Marquess of Exeter.

But to return to Mr. Carew, who was had in great esteem and favour by the Admiral, who as he rode forth upon service one day, he took Mr. Carew with him; and they had not gone far before they espied a party of Scots coming towards them: The Admiral at a very strait narrow passage of a bridge was in danger of being entrapp'd and taken; to prevent which Mr. Carew desired him to exchange his armour and martial attire with him, that he might by that means make his escape, which the admiral soon consented to at the enemy coming on to this narrow passage, Mr. Carew in his rich habit, well-mounted, crossed the bridge with his horse, and for a time so valiantly defended the same that no man might pass, so by that way he gained time for the Admiral to escape: However Mr. Carew himself was at last taken prisoner, to the no little joy of the enemy, who thought they had taken the General himself, but finding themselves deceived, they courteously carried Mr. Carew to the Castle of Dunbar, where he was very kindly entertained by the Lady of the Governour thereof, who having a brother a prisoner then in England, hoped to have him exchanged for Mr. Carew. But the keeper of the prisoner was very cruel towards Mr. Carew, and put him into a dungeon, and used him so barbarously that he fell dangerously sick of a dysentery, or bloody flux, which never quite left him to the time of his death; however he was at length redeemed, and so returned to his Manour of Bickleigh which he had with his Lady, After which, the Lord Admiral not forgetting the great services of Mr. Carew, made him his Vice-Admiral, and assisted him in all his affairs. Mr. Carew lived afterward several years in his country, and outlived his Lady. He had by her a son and a daughter; John the son married Gilbert Saint Clere's daughter, but died without issue in the year 1588. Mr. Carew after the decease of his first wife married the daughter of one Smart, by whom he had issue Humphry Carew unto whom John his half-brother, before his death, conveyed his estate; and so Bickleigh, after it had been for several generations in the Family of Courtenay of Powderham, came to a younger branch of the Carews of Mohuns-Autrey.

Humphrey Carew had issue Peter, who by the daughter of George Cary of Clovelly, Esq; had issue Sir Henry Carew of Bickleigh, Knight, who, by a daughter of Sir Reginald Mohun of Cornwall, had issue two daughters and heirs, the oldest of whom was married unto Sir Thomas Carew of Haccomb, in whose family Bickleigh continues to this day.

Sir Philip Courtenay, second of that names of Powderham-Castle, besides these sons afore-mentioned, had two daughters 1. Philippa, married to Sir Thomas Fullford, who had issue by her Sir Humphry, William, and Philip Fullford. 2. Anne, who was first married to Sir William Palton of

of Umberliegh, who had by her Elizabeth, first married to Martin Fortescue, son of Sir John Fortescue, Lord Chief Justice of England, and secondly unto Sir William Pomeroy. Anne the daughter of Sir Philip Courtenay had to her second husband Richard Trewin, alias Ear, Esquire, of Whitechurch near Tevistock.

This Sir Philip Courtenay, second of that names of Powderham-Castle, died 16 December, 3 Edward IV. 1463, as the jurors in the inquisition taken after his death did find: they did find likewise, that Sir Philip Courtenay, Knight, and Elizabeth his wife did jointly hold to them, and their heirs male the Manours of Powderham, Moreton, and Alsington, and eighteen other Manours; and they did find, that certain feoffees, to the use of Hugh Courtenay Earl of Devonshire, gave these Manours to Hugh Courtenay, Earl of Devon, and Margaret his wife, for their lives, and from thence to remain to Sir Peter Courtenay, Knight, and to the heirs males of his body begotten and from thence to remain to Sir Philip Courtenay late of Bickleigh, Knight, and to the heirs males of his body begotten. And the Jurors do say, that Hugh and Margaret died, and Sir Peter died without issue male, by reason of which, Sir Philip Courtenay, late of Bickleigh, entred and died seised, in his own right, as of fee-tail: and they say, that Philip Coplestone was sized of the Manour of Powderham, and that he infeoff'd the said Philip and Elizabeth his wife, and the heirs sales of their bodies begotten, and so the said Philip Courtenay died, and Elizabeth out-lived him and they say, that the said Philip named in his brief died the 16 of December last past; and that William Courtenay, Esq; is his next heir, and is 35 years old.

The Arms of this Sir Philip Courteney were the same with those of his father, viz. Or Three Torteaux, with a Label Azure of three Points, charged with nine Plates, impaled with the Arms of Hungerfords viz. Sable two Bars Argent, with three Plates in chief; which Arms are in Honiton Church.

CHAPTER V.

Sir William Courtenay, first of that name, of Powderham-Castle, was eldest son of Sir Philip Courtenay and Elizabeth daughter of Walter Lord Hungerford, as was said before: he married Margaret daughter of William Lord Bonvile, whom King Henry VI. by the name of William de Bonvile and Chuton, summoned to Parliament amongst the Barons, made Knight of the Garter, and enriched his son with the marriage of Baron Harrington's only daughter but he siding with the House of York (as has been said) had the unhappiness to be an eye-witness of the untimely death of his son and grand-son, the Lord Harrington, both slain in the Battle of Wakefield, and, in a little time after, he himself was taken in the second Battle of St. Albans and beheaded, leaving behind him Cecil his grand-child and heiress, then very young, who being afterwards married to Thomas Grey, Marquess of Dorset, brought him the titles of Lord Bonvile and Harrington, with a brave estate in the Western parts; and upon the attainder of Henry

Henry Marquess of Dorset and Duke of Suffolk, a great part of that estate come to the Lord Peters, either by gift or purchase. William Lord Bonville with his Lady lies interred in the Chancel of Chuton Church in Somersetshire. Another daughter of the Lord Bonville's was married to Sir Nicholas Baron Carew, Wiscomb Park in Devonshire was a seat of the Lord Bonville.

In the year 1470, 10 Edward IV, in the time of the Wars between the Houses of York and Lancaster, the Earl of Warwick and the Duke of Clarence, who then was against his brother King Edward IV. having had a great part of their army under the command of Sir Robert Wells defeated, mistrusted their own strength, and prepared to pass over the sea to Calais, and first of all sent away the Dutchess of Clarence, daughter to the Earl of Warwick, who was then great with child; and she being accompanied with the Lord Fitz-warren, the Lord Dinham, and the Baron Carew, and one thousand fighting men, came to Exeter, March 8, and was lodged in the Bishop's Palace: Sir William Courtenay of Powderham, who favoured the party of King Edward IV. assembled an army of all the friends he could get, and encompassing the city round besieged the same; he pulled down all the bridges, ramper'd up all the ways, and stopped up all the passages, so that no victuals at all could be brought into the city for twelve days together, so that on a sudden and unlooked for, victuals fell very scarce in the city; and there being a great number of people in the city at that time, they began to murmur for want of food. The Dutchess and the Lords that accompanied her, fearing what might be the consequence, sent to the Mayor, and required the keys of the city to be delivered into their hands, and promised that they would undertake the safe keeping of the city; and, on the other hand, Sir William Courtenay sent a messenger to the mayor, and demanded the gates to be opened unto him, or else he threatened to destroy the city with fire and sword. The mayor and this brethren did so order the matter, as that by fair speeches and courteous usage both parties were perswaded to stop, until the mediation of certain good and purdent men a treaty was made, the siege raised, and every man set at liberty. King Edward was willing to let the Earl of Warwick go off quietly, and that might be the reason why a treaty was made. This siege of Exeter is through a mistake said by Mr. Cambden to be made by Hugh Earl of Devonshire, but there was no such Earl at that time.

This Sir William Courtenay was high sheriff of Devonshire the last year of Edward IV. being the year 1483, all the time of the short reign of King Edward V. and in the 1st year of Richard III. and he died, as Sir William Pole saith, in the 1st year of Henry VII. 1485: He had by his Lady one son named William, who succeeded him in his estate, and two daughters; 1. Joan married to Sir William Carew of Mohuns-Autrey, who had issue by her, 1. Sir George Carew, who in 37 Henry VIII, 1545, the King being then at Portsmouth, was drowned: a great ship, called the Mary-Rose, of which he was Captain, sunk in the harbour, and in it were drowned a great many gentlemen with him. 2. Sir Philip Carew, Knight of Malta 3. Sir Peter, an eminent soldier in the Irish Wars, who all died without issue, and one daughter named Cecil, who was married to Thomas Kirkem, and by her he had Mohuns-Autrey, which from Kirkham came to Southcot, and from Southcot to Yonge, and is now in the possession of Sir William Yonge. The 2d daughter of Sir William Courtenay was Catherine, who was first married to Thomas Rogers, Serjeant at Law, from whom was issued Rogers of Cannington in Somersetshire, whose family is now extinct;

extinct; her second husband was Sir William Huddesfield, Attorney-General to King Edward IV, of the Privy Council to Henry VII. and justice of Oyer and Terminer and he had by her a daughter named Elizabeth, wife of Sir Anthony Pointz of Acton in Gloucestershire. Sir William Huddesfield with his Lady Catherine was buried in the little Church of Shillingford, which Manour he purchased, and unto their memory there is a fair Monument erected, having the following inscriptions;

"Here lieth Sir William Huddesfield, Attorney-General to King Edward IV. and of Council to King Henry VII. and Justice of Oyer and Terminer, which died the 20th Day of March, A. D. MCCCCXCIX. On whose Soul Jesus have Mercy. Amen."
Honor Deo & Gloria.

Above is this Motto;

Conditor et Redemptor Corporis et Animae
Sit mihi medicus et custos utriusq;

In the Window over his Picture is this;

Hi tres funt mea fpes Thefus Maria Johannes.

Over his Lady's Picture is this;

Quae peperit florem det nobis floris odorem,

Under both their Pictures are these Words;

Orate pro bono ftatu Willielmi Huddesfield Militis et Catherinae uxoris ejus.

On another Part of the Tomb is this;

'Dame Catherine the Wife of Sir William Huddesfield, Knight,
"Daughter to Sir William Courtenay, Knight."

The Arms of Sir William Courtenay, first of that name, of Powderham-Castle, were the same with those of his fathers and the Arms of Bonville were, Sable, six Mulletts pierced Argent, 3, 2, 1.

CHAPTER VI.

Peter Courtenay, first Bishop of Exeter and afterwards Bishop of Winchester, was third son of Sir Philip Courtenay of Powderham, and Elizabeth daughter of Walter Lord Hungerford: he was in his younger years bred in Oxford in Exeter-College; E. College; in sallor Exoniensi, saith Mr.Wood;and there he took his degree of Batchelor of Laws, and after that he travelled into foreign parts, and took his Doctor's Degree in the University of Padua in Italy; and in the year 1477, he was admitted

admitted to the same degree in Oxford with great solemnity, and at the some time he made a splendid entertainment for the University.

As soon as he entered into Holy Orders, he had not only parsonages with cure of souls, but was made first arch-deacon of Exeter; and whilst he was arch-deacon, in the year 1462, Thomas Bouchier, Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, kept a synod of his clergy in London, when Geoffry Longbrooke, a member thereof, as proctor for Peter Courtenay, Arch-Deacon of Exeter, was, at the suit of Simon Nottingham, arrested by the bailiffs of the Lord-Mayor: complaint being made hereof to the convocation, they sent the Prior of Canterbury to the mayor and sheriffs to restore the aforesaid Geoffry to his liberty, threatening them else with excommunication to prevent which the party was released. In a little time after he was made Dean of the same church; and whilst he was Dean a controversy happened between the Mayor and Chamber of Exeter on one side, and the Company of Taylors on the other; and after both sides had been at great charges, it came to be determined by King Edward IV. whose final order therein was sent to Dr. Peter Courtenay, the Dean of the Church, to be delivered to both parties. He did likewise when he was Dean make up a difference between Sir William Courtenay his brother and the Rector of Powderham about Tythes; and his award is in the hands of the present Sir William Courtenay: he was also master of the Hospital of St. Anthony in London, at the time that it was annexed to the Royal Chapel of Windsor, for the resigning of which (which was in the year 1474) he had a pension of one hundred marks per annum given him by the Dean and Chapter of Windsor, which was paid to him until he had some preferment given him by the King in lieu thereof. After that he was made Dean of Windsor, and was installed into it, October 1st, 1476 and in the year 1477 he was by the King made Bishop of Exeter, and consecrated in November in St. Stephen's Chapel in Westminster-Abbey.

In the year 1483, King Richard III. having made himself odious to the people by his murdering King Edward V. and Richard Duke of York his nephews, there were insurrections made against him in several parts of the kingdom. The Duke of Buckingham raised an army in Wales (as was said before when we spoke of Sir Edward Courtenay) and with it he marched through the Forest of Dean, intending to have passed over the River Severn at Gloucester, and there to have joined his army with the Courtenays and other western men, which if they had done, no doubt King Richard had been in great danger; but before the Duke could come to the Severn-side, by reason of a great rain that fell, that river rose so high that it overflowed the country adjoining, which great flood lasted for ten days, so that the Duke could not get over to his friends, neither could they go to him; during which time, the Welchmen living idly, and having neither victuals nor pay, went away and were dispersed the Duke being left thus almost alone was forced to fly, and was afterwards taken and put to death all his friends upon this were dispersed; some fled to sanctuary; others took shipping and sailed to Britany to the Earl of Richmond; amongst these were Peter Courtenay Bishop of Exeter and Sir Edward Courtenay his brother, afterward Earl of Devonshire; and they all swore allegiance to the Earl of Richmond; and he took his corporal oath on the same day, (viz. the 25th of December) That he would marry the Princess Elizabeth when he had suppressed the usurper Richard, and was possessed of the crown.

A little time after the death of the Duke of Buckingham, and the dispersing of his accomplices, King Richard made a progress into Devonshire,

When he came to Exeter, the mayor, aldermen, and citizens presented him with a purse of gold to obtain his favour; he received it graciously, lay in the city one night, and the next day went to take a view of it. In his western journey he found that the gentlemen of those parts were almost all concerned in the conspiracy to depose him, and to raise up the Earl of Richmond to the throne; and upon his return to London he sent down John Lord Scroop with a special commission, who sat at Torrington; and then and there were indicted of high treason, Thomas Marquess of Dorset, Peter Bishop of Exeter, Sir Edward Courtenay, Walter Courtenay, and others, to the number of five hundred; all that made their escape were out-lawed, and those that fell into King Richard's hands were put to death.

In 1485, Henry Earl of Richmond, Jasper Earl of Pembroke, his uncle, the Earl of Oxford, Peter Courtenay Bishop of Exeter, and Sir Edward Courtenay, with many other knights and esquires, with a small number of French, landed at Milford-Haven, August 6; and as soon as the Earl of Richmond's landing was known, several noblemen and others with their retinue gathered to him in great numbers; and then the Earl marching against King Richard met with him at a village called Bosworth near Leicester on the 22d of August, where there was fought a very sharp battle between them, in the conclusion whereof King Richard was slain, his army routed, and many of his men killed, with little loss on the Earl of Richmond's side; and the Lord Stanley taking King Richard's crown, which was found amongst the spoil, put in on the Earl of Richmond's head, who from that time assumed the title and power of King.

A little after (as was said before) King Henry made Sir Edward Courtenay Earl of Devonshire; and in the next year, viz, 1486, he made the Bishop of Exeter Bishop of Winchester, upon the death of William Wainsleet, founder of Magdalen-College in Oxford.

Mr. Westcot in his View of Devonshire saith, that Peter Courtenay, Bishop of Exeter, was in great favour with the Earl of Richmond, both abroad when he was in Brittany and France, and afterwards at home when he became King of England; and good reason for it, for he ventured his life for him, and lived in exile for some time upon the Earl's account, and was with him at the Battle of Bosworth, where no doubt he behaved himself courageously; for one author stiles him, *Venerabilis Pater Petrus Episcopus Exon, Flos militiae Patriae suae*.

In the next year, 1487, Peter Courtenay, Bishop of Winchester, was very near being chosen -Chancellor of the University of Oxford: Dr. John Russel, Bishop of Lincoln, being Chancellor in the month of May this year, he resigned his office, in order to be chosen again for the ensuing year; but a great many scholars considering Bishop Courtenay's worth, and considering what William Courtenay, Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, and Richard Courtenay, Bishop of Norwich, did for the University when they were Chancellors, voted for the Bishop of Winchester, and not without a great deal of difficulty the Bishop of Lincoln, although he was a grave and a wise man, and had been Lord Chancellor of England, got to be re-chosen.

This Bishop Courtenay, after he had governed the Diocese of Winchester for the space of five years, died December 20, 1491: and Bishop Godwin says, he was buried in his own church, but whereabouts says he I know not; but I rather think that he was buried in Powderham-Church; for in the middle of the chancel of that Church there is a broad stone, on which is the effigies of a Bishop with his mitre in brass inlaid, which could not be for the Arch-Bishop, for he was not of the Powderham-Family;

neither for the Bishop of Norwich, for he was buried in Westminster-Abbey; It must be therefore for this Bishop; and Bishop Godwin's saying he did not know whereabouts in Winchester Church he was buried, makes it more likely that he was buried in Powderham.

The historians several of them do say, that Peter Courtenay, Bishop of Winchester, was brother to Sir Edward Courtenay that was restored to the Earldom of Devonshire, but it is a mistake; but Bishop Godwin, who writ the Lives of the Bishops, and John Hooker, Sir William Pole, and others who have writ of the families of Devonshire, do all say, that he was the son of Sir Philip Courtenay of Powderham-Castle and Elizabeth daughter of Walter Lord Hungerford; and his arms in Upcot Church do shew the same, which are, or, three Torteaux, a File in chief with three Labels Azure, charged with nine Plates within the Royal Garter; which was added to his father's arms, because, as Bishop of Winchester, he was Prelate of the Garter.

This Bishop built the north tower of the Cathedral Church of Exeter, and placed in it a great bell weighing twelve thousand five hundred pounds, which after his name is called Peter's Bell; unto this bell was the Bishop pleased to add a clock, and to the clock a dial of very curious invention especially for that age; for it shews the changes of the moon, the day of the month, together with the hour of the day. He likewise was a great benefactor to the church of Honiton; for he built the Tower, as his father's arms impaled with those of his mother's in the tower-window do shew: he likewise built good part of the Church, which in his days was made from a little chapel, dedicated to St. Michael, into a handsome parish-church; and the arms of the family are in the pillars of the church: he likewise, in all probability, made a curious skreen of fine workmanship that is between the body of the church and the chancel.

His motto was, quod verum tutum; and his arms were those of his father, impaled first with arms of the Bishoprick of Exeter, and afterwards with those of Winchester, encompassed with the Royal Barter.

CHAPTER VII.

Sir William Courtenay, second of that name, of Powderham-Castle, was son of Sir William Courtenay, and Margaret daughter of William Lord Bonville: he married Cicely daughter of Sir John Cheyney of Pincourt in Pinhay parish. It was the seat of Stretch, one of whose co-heirs brought it to Cheyney, alias de Casineto, or de Caneto, whose race lived there in good esteem for four descents, and the patrimony was divided amongst four daughters of Sir John Cheyney, and Sir William Courtenay married one of them. Sir John Cheyney was high sheriff in the 2d of Edward IV. and again in 13 Edward IV.

This Sir William Courtenay the second, was, as Sir William Pole saith, accounted a good man of was in the time of Henry VII.

In the year 1497, 13th of Henry VII. when Perkin Warbeck besieged Exeter, Sir William Courtenay of Powderham, together with Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire, and his son Lord William Courtenay, and many other Devonshire gentlemen, came to the City of Exeter and helped the

the citizens, and forced Perkin Warbeck to raise the seige, and to march to Taunton, as was said before when we spake of Edward Earl of Devonshire, In the year before, viz. the 12th of Henry VII. Sir John Halwell, alias Halgewell, went to law with Sir William Courtenay for the lands of Chiverston. It was said before, that Sir John Chiverston, who married John the daughter of Hugh, second Earl of Devonshire, did, in case he died without issue, settle his lands upon the Earl of Devonshire, his father-in-law; and Sir John dying without issue, the Earl had his lands, viz. Chiverston, from which the family had its name, Ilton-Castle, Thurleston, and other lands: the Earl of Devonshire gave these lands to his son Sir Peter Courtenay, who was called Sir Peter Courtenay of Ilton-Castle, and he dying without issue, these lands, according to his father's settlement, came to Richard Courtenay, Bishop of Norwich, son to Sir Philip Courtenay of Powderham-Castle, and so they descended to this Sir William Courtenay. Sir John Halwell being next heir to Sir John Chiverston, as descended from a sister of his, claimed those lands as his own, and after a long and chargeable suit at law, it was by arbitrement concluded, that Sir William Courtenay should pay unto Sir John Halwell one thousand pounds in the Tower of London, which accordingly was done, and all the money, as it is said, was paid in small pence. It is delivered by tradition, that Sir William Courtenay used great frugality whilst the law-suit was depending riding always to London but with one man; whereas his adversary was commonly attended by twenty,

This Sir William Courtenay had by his Lady three sons; 1. Sir William, who succeeded him in his estate, of whom we shall speak in the next chapter. 2. James of Upcot, who was so called from the Manour of Upcot, which was given, in all probability, by his uncle the Bishop of Winchester, for the Bishop's arms are in a window in the Church; and it is very likely that he purchased it. This Sir James Courtenay married a daughter of Sir John Basset, and had with her the Manour of Ashford: he had by her two sons, James and John; the issue of James, after four descents, failed so, as that his land came unto James Courtenay, descended from John second son of the first James, who left an only daughter, married to John Moor, Esq; of Moor near Tavistock; and the last of that family sold it not long since to John Upcot of Tiverton, merchant. The last James Courtenay of Upcot was high sheriff of Devonshire in the year 1534, the 2d of Queen Mary, in the time of Wiat's Rebellion.

Sir William Courtenay had likewise several daughters; 1. Anne, married to Thomas Gibbe, Esq; of Fenton in Dartington Parish. 2. Joan, married to Sir William Beaumont of Shirwell; a little time after they were married, there happened out a difference between them, upon which Sir William absented himself from his wife, and went to London, where he lived two years and died, and whilst he was absent she had a son born, who was bred up very privately and after Sir William Beaumont's death, his brother Philip succeeded him in his lands as next heir, and died quietly possessed thereof, having first, for want of issue, settled them upon his brother, by a second wife, Thomas; he also dying without issue, the estate came to Hugh his younger brother, whose daughter and heir was married to John Chichester, Esq. Hugh the lost heir male being dead, John the son of Joan, wife to Sir William Beaumont, being come to age, entred upon the estate of Beaumont, and claimed it as his right, being heir to Sir William Beaumont his father, it being proved that he was born in Wedlock; and John Basset, son of Joan sister to Sir William Beaumont, claimed it as his right; and Margaret the wife of John Chichester, daughter

of Hugh Beaumont, made also title to the same; whereupon divers law-suits were commenced at common law and chancery, and by the favour and interest of the Lord Daubeny, Basset got a decree in chancery for the said lands; whereupon there was an appeal made to Parliament and it was declared in Parliament, that seeing John the son of Joane, wife of Sir William Beaumont, was born in wedlock, he could not be barr'd of the lands. But at last it was agreed amongst the parties, that Chichester should have Yolston, Shirwell, and other lands, to the value of two hundred marks of old rent; and John the son of Joane, wife of Sir William Beaumont, should have Gittisham, and so much of other lands as amounted to the value of two hundred marks of yearly rent; the residue Basset had; a great part of which he gave to the Lord Daubeny, and the heirs sale of his body, for standing by him in the law-suit, which returned to the heirs of Basset after the death of the Earl of Bridgwater, the Lord Daubeny's son. This Giles Lord Daubeny was a great man: he came into England from Brittany with Henry VII. and was by him made Lord Chamberlain and Knight of the Garter; and therefore no wonder that by his interest Basset got the better of it at law: but it is to be wondered at, that such a great man should bargain to have such a great share of the estate for his favour and interest, and diligence in promoting the cause of Basset. His son Henry was by King Henry VIII. made Earl of Bridgwater, but he dying without issue male, after his death of estate, as was said, returned to the heirs of Basset. Joan the widow of Sir William Beaumont took to her second husband John Bodrugan, and her son John was by some called John Bodrugan, after the name of her second husband; but he took to him the name of Beaumont, and seated himself at Gittisham, and there his family continued for three generations, until the year 1594, 36 Elizabeth, when Henry Beaumont, the last of the family died, who in his lifetime gave lands to the value of twenty pounds to buy land, the profits of which were to be distributed amongst the poor to buy land, the profits of which were to be distributed amongst the poor of Honiton, Gittisham, Autrey St. Mary and Sidbury; and as for his lands in Gittisham, having no issue of his own, he settled them upon Sir Thomas Beaumont of Cole-Orton in Leicestershire, whose son Sir Henry sold that estate to Mr. Nicholas Putt, and was lately the seat of Sir Thomas Putt, Baronet, and now of Ramundo Putt, Esquire.

The 3d daughter of Sir William Courtenay was married to John Coplestone, Esq; and another was married to..... Danvers, Esq; from whom was descended Sir Charles Danvers, who being concerned in the rebellion and insurrection made by the Earl of Essex against Queen Elizabeth in the year 1601, and being sentenced to death for the same, requested that he might die the death of a noblemen, that is, be beheaded and indeed, as Mr. Camden says, he was nobly descended; for his mother was daughter and one of the heiresses of Nevil Lord Latimer, by the daughter of Henry Earl of Worcester; his grandmother was the Lord Mordant's daughter, and his great grand-mother of the family of the Courtenays; so saith Mr. Camden.

This Sir William Courtenay, second of that name, of Powderham-Castle, died in the year 1512, 4 Henry VIII. His arms were the same with those of his father, impaled with those of Cheyney, which were, Gules, four Fusils if Fess Argent four Escalops Sable.

CHAPTER VIII.

Sir William Courtenay, third of that name, of Powderham-Castle, was son of Sir William Courtenay and Cecil Cheyney his wife: he was, as Sir William Pole saith, commonly called Sir William Courtenay the Great. He married Margaret daughter of Sir Richard Edgecomb of Cuttele, Knight. This Sir Richard Edgecomb was concerned in the insurrection that was made by the Bishop of Exeter, Sir Edward Courtenay# and other gentlemen of the West against King Richard III. and when the Duke of Buckingham's army, whom they had a design to join was dispersed, and he taken and put to death, the Western gentlemen were forced to disperse to save their lives, and Sir Richard Edgecomb went to his own house and hid himself, and King Richard sent a party of men to seize him; Sir Richard hearing of their coming fled to a wood that he had near his house, which was near to the River Tamar, and being closely pursed, he took his cap and put a stone in it, and tumble it into the river; his pursuers hearing the noise of the stone falling into the water, and seeing the cap upon the water, they thought that Sir Richard had thrown himself into the river and drowned himself; so they left off pursuing of him, and Sir Richard got over into Brittany to the Earl of Richmond, and afterwards came over into England with him, and was at the Battle of Bosworth, and was in great favour with him when he became King of England; and the King, as soon as he came to the Throne, gave him the castle and honour of Totnes, which came to the crown by the attainder of John Lord Zouch: the King also made Sir Richard Edgecomb comptroller of his household, and of the privy council, and employed him in divers embassies; he was sent ambassadour to the King of Scots, and into Brittany, where he died. Sir Richard in remembrance of the great deliverance he had in the wood, built a chapel in the place where he hid himself. But to return to Sir William Courtenay, his son-in-laws

In the year 1523, 13 Henry VIII, the King having got an army of men in readiness, caused them to be transported to Calais, and appointed Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, to command them: the Duke went to Calais, August 24, and there were appointed to attend him a great many Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen, amongst whom, Hollingshed saith, was Sir William Courtenay. The Duke marched his army into the enemy's country, taking all places that resisted him; and after some time the Emperor's army joined them, and they made in all twenty thousand men; The Duke with his Army came within eleven leagues of Paris, but the year being far spent, it being about the end of September, and the weather being very cold, the Duke was forced to return. The hearing that the armies were separated, and the Duke returned to Calais, was very angry, his intention being to fortify the places the Duke had taken; and for that purpose he had commanded the Lord Montjoy with six thousand men to reinforce the trooper but before the King's pleasure could be known, the Duke with his forces was come to Calais, where he staid for some time, that the King's anger might be appeased before he went to England; and the King being at last satisfied with the reasons that were given for their return, received the Duke of Suffolk into his former grace and favour.

Sir William Courtenay was high sheriff of Devonshire in the year 1525, 17 Henry VIII. In the year 1532, 25 Henry VIII. a pension of five marks per annum was granted under the seal of the City of Exeter to Sir William Courtenay, Knight, for his life, that he might be the patron and defender of the said city; as there was likewise the same sum granted a little before to the Lord Crowwell for the same Purpose and to Sir William Cecil, Secretary of State, some time after.

About that time commissioners were appointed in all counties, the Bishop of the Diocese being always one of them, to examine into the yearly value of ecclesiastical preferments, so that their tenths and first-fruits might be proportioned accordingly; these commissioners were the chiefest persons in all counties under the degree of barons: men of unquestionable extraction, none as yet standing upon the ruin of abbeys to heighten their mean birth with the repute of gentility, saith Mr. Fuller; and those for Devonshire were Sir William Courtenay and Sir Thomas Dennis; they were some years in doing of it, and the commissioners of Devonshire finished their commission in the year 1535, 27 Henry VIII. in which year Sir William Courtenay died.

He had by his first Margaret Edgecomb, I. George, of whom I shall speak in the next Chapter. 2. Sir Peter or Piers Courtenay, Knight, of Ugbrook: He was sheriff in the 2d of Edward VI. in which year was the Cornish insurrection, and Sir Piers Courtenay appeared very loyal and active for the suppressing of it.

Against the North wall in the chancel of Chudleigh Church, in which Parish Ugbrook is, there is an altar monument of free-stone, in the front of which, at one end, are the Courtenays arms; at the other end are those of Shilston, and in the middle the date of the year when the monument was erected, viz. 1607. it is covered with a marble table, on which is the following inscription;

"Here lyeth the Body of Sir Pierce Courtenay, Son to Sir William Courtenay of Powderham, Knight, who died Ao. D. 1552, May 20; and also the Body of Dame Elizabeth his Wife, sole daughter and heire to Robert Shilston of Bridestowe, Esquire, who died the 8th of November 1605.

Over this monument, against the wall, is another put up by the first Lord Clifford, who was Lord High Treasurer in the reign of King Charles II. where we have inscribed,

There is also inscribed on it this which followeth;

"Sir Pierce Courtenay married Elizabeth daughter of Sir Robert Shilston, who had issue vii children; Carew, Edward, and James, Sons: also daughters, Katherine mar. to Hemphthorn; Dorothy mar. to Cowlinge; Anne mar. to Clifford; and Joan married to Tremayne."

Edward, Sir Peter Courtenay's son, out-lived his father, and inherited his estate: He married a daughter of Thomas Moor of Taunton, she was afterwards second wife of Humphry Walrond of Bradfield, Esquire, whose first

first wife was Mary daughter of Thomas Willoughby, Knight, Lord Chief Justice of the common-pleas.

Sir William Pole saith, that this Mr. Edward Courtenay had by his wife two daughters heiresses the first Anne, married to Anthony Clifford, of Borscomb in Wiltshire and Kings-Teignton in Devonshire, by whom he had two sons, William Clifford, Esq; who possessed Borscomb and Kings-Teignton; and Thomas, upon whom his father settled Ugbrook, from whom is descended the present Lord Clifford. The second daughter of Edward Courtenay, Esq; was Catherine, who was married to Josias Calmady, who was father to Sir Shilston Calmady, Knight.

This Edward Courtenay, son of Sir Peter Courtenay, died in the house of one Edward Tailor in King-street, Westminster, in the year 1566; and in St.Margaret's Church in Westminster, on the north side of the altar, is a brass Monument with this inscription

"Give thanks to God for Edward Courtenay, Esqr. son and heir of Sir Peter Courtenay of Devonshire, Knight, who living a life agreeable to his estate and stock, ended the same like a faithful Christian, the 27 of November, 1356, and is buried before this stone.

The beginning of this epitaph is very remarkable for whereas before the reformation epitaphs did commonly begin with these words, Pray for the Soul, this begins with Give Thanks to God; just as in the form of bidding prayer before the reformation, the words were, You shall pray for all them that be departed out of this world in the faith of Christ; after the reformation the words were, You shall give thanks to God for all them that be departed out of this world in the fear of God.

The 3d son of Sir William Courtenay of Powderham was Henry; 4th, Nicholas; 5th Anthony, Sir William Courtenay's second wife was Mary daughter of Sir John Gainsford of Surrey, by whom he had issue, 1. Philip; 2. John, of Autrey St.Mary, who had issue Roger, who had issue William.

This John Courtenay was in the City of Exeter when it was besieged by the rebels in the Reign of Edward VI. for Hollingshed saith, that in the year 1549, 3 Edward VI. a great many of the commons in Devonshire and Cornwall did rise up in rebellion, and required that not only the enclosures might be thrown down, but also that they might have their old religion; and they came and besieged the City of Exeter; and whilst the City was besieged, there were two gentlemen in the city; the one was of an honourable house and parentage, named John Courtenay, son of Sir William Courtenay of Powderham, Knight; a man of very good knowledge and experience in matters of war: the other also was a man of very good knowledge and experience; his name was Bernard Duffield, servant to the Lord Russel, and keeper of his house in Exeter, John Courtenay affirmed, that sallies out upon the enemy were not to be made in any fort or city that stood upon its guard, without a very special order from the commanding officer, or upon some urgent necessity especially not to be done in the distress the city was then in: but Bernard Duffield having designed a sally, and being loth to desist from the enterprise that he with others had designed, plainly declared, that there should be a Sally made, whereupon Mr. Courtenay went to the Mayor, who immediately assembled his brethren, and haying the matter fully debated, concluded, that it was dangerous for the city to make a sally at that time, and so it was put off.

The 3d son of Sir William Courtenay by his second wife was James, upon whom his father settled Butterleigh, and after four descents it reverted to the family of Powderham. His 4th son by his second wife was Thomas, who in Queen Elizabeth's time was Captain of a Man of War, and did a notable exploit against the rebels in Ireland, in the year 1579, 22 of Queen Elizabeth: In Munster, a Province of Ireland, James Fitzmorris raised a new rebellion; the same Fitz-morris that a-while before falling upon his knees before Perrot President of Munster had with humble entreaties and lamentable howlings begged his pardon, and most solemnly vowed his fidelity and obedience to the queen: this man had withdrawn himself into France, and promised the French King, that if he would assist him, he would unite all Ireland to the scepter of France, and restore the Romish religion in that Island; but being wearied out with delays, and in the end laughed at, he went from France into Spain, and made the same promises to the Catholick King; the King sent him over to the Bishop of Rome, from whom having, at the earnest solicitations of Sanders and English priest, and Allen an Irish one, both of them Doctors in Divinity, gotten a little money, the authority of a legate granted to Sanders, a consecrated banner, and letters of recommendation to the Spaniard, he returned into Spain, and from thence arrived, about the first day of July, with those two divines, three ships, and a small body of men, at Sr. Mary Wick (which the Irish contractedly call Smerswick) in Kerry, and peninsula of Ireland, where in a place solemnly consecrated by the priests, he erected a fort, and drew up his ships close upon them. There was at that time a Devonshire gentlemen, saith Hollingshed, names Thomas Courtenay, and he hearing of their landing, having a good wind, came into the Bay of St. Mary Wick, and finding the ship of James Fitz-morris at anchor, took them all; whereby, saith Hollingshed, Fitz-morris and his company lost a piece of the Pope's blessing; for by that they were rendered unable to put to sea again whatever should happen. The Earl of Desmond joined with Fitz-morris, and carried on a rebellion for some time, but was at last slain, and his great estate forfeited and this action of Sir Thomas Courtenay, in all probability, gave occasion to Sir William Courtenay that then was, with others, by the queen's consent, to make now plantation and to plant seigniouries in the Earl of Desmond's country, by which the family of Powderham is to this day possessed of a great estate in that country.

This Sir William Courtenay had a daughter named Mary, (Mr. Prince says Gertrude) who was married to Sir John Chichester of Raleigh; they were wonderfully blessed with a noble issue, having five sons, four whereof were knights, two of which also were lords, a baron, and a viscount, and eight daughters, all married to the chiefest families in the western parts. Sir William Courtenay had another daughter named Cicely, who was married to Nicholas Francis of Francis-Court, Esq; now called Killrington, or Killerton, in Broad-Clift, the seat of Sir Hugh Ackland; he had issue by her Sir William Francis, Knight, who was slain by the rebels on Clift-Bridge in Edward the VIth's time; the manner thus:

The Lord Russel marched with a small force to relieve Exeter besieged by the rebels, and he staid a-while for some supplies that Sir William Herbert was to bring from Bristol; but being afraid that the rebels should inclose him, he marched back to Honiton, where he had lain before; and finding that the enemy had taken a bridge behind him, called Feniton-Bridge,

Bridge, he beat them from it, killing six hundred of them without any loss on his side; by this he understood their strength, as saw they could not stand a brisk charge, nor rally when once in disorder; so that the Lord Gray and Spinola commanding, some Germans joining him, he returned to raise the Siege of Exeter, which was much straitened for want of victuals. The rebels had now shut up the city twelve days; they within had eaten their horses and endured extream famine; the rebels had block up the ways, and left two thousand men to keep the bridge at Bishops-Clift, and planted ordnance upon it; and Sir William Francis attempting to force the bridge was slain: at length by the conduct of one Mr. Yard that lived thereabout, they found a place where the river was fordable, which Mr. Yard with many others passing over, they came upon the back of the rebels, who little expecting it, retreated to the lower end of Clift-Heath, where they entrenched themselves as well as they could, to which place they brought their crucifix in a cart; but here they were utterly vanquished and put to the rout, and the siege of the city thereupon raised.

Sir William Courtenay's second wife out-lived him, and had for her second husband Sir Anthony Kingston, who lived at Cadley, which was his wife's jointure, as was Honiton also, This Sir Anthony Kingston was provost-marshal of the King's army that defeated the rebels in Devonshire in the reign of King Edward VI. and he was esteemed by many cruel and barbarous in his executions. One Boyer, Mayor of Bodmyn in Cornwall, was observed to be among the seditious, but was forced to it, as were many others; the marshall wrote him a letter that he would dine with him at his house upon a day which he appointed; the Mayor seemed glad, and made for him the best provision that he could; upon the day he came, and a great company with him, and was received with great ceremony. A little before dinner, he took the Mayor aside, and whispered him in the ear, that execution must that day be done in the town and therefore required him that a pair of gallows should be made, and erected against the time that dinner should end. The Mayor was diligent to fullfil his command, and no sooner was dinner ended, but he demanded of the Mayor, whether the work was finished? The Mayor answered, that all was ready: I pray you, says the provost, bring me to the place; and therewith he took him friendly by the hand, and beholding the gallows, he asked the Mayor, whether he thought them to be strong enough? Yes, said the Mayor, doubtless they are: Well, said the provost, get you up speedily for they are prepared for you. I hope, answered the Mayor, you mean not as you speak. In faith, saith the provost, there is no remedy, for you have been a busy rebels and so he presently hung him up. Near the said place dwelt a miller, who had been a busy actor in that rebellion, and fearing the coming of the Provost-Marshal, told his servant, that he had occasion to go from home; and therefore told him, if any should enquire after the miller, that he should say that he was the miller, and so he had been for three years before; so when the provost come and called for the miller, his servant came forth, and said that he was the man: the Provost demanded how long he had kept the mill? These three years, answered the servant: then the provost commanded his men to seize him, and to hang him on the next tree: then the fellow cried out, that he was not the miller, but the miller's man. Nay, Sir, says the provost, I will take thee to thy word; if thou art the miller, thou art a busy knave; if thou art note thou art a false lying knave; whatsoever thou art thou shalt be hanged. When others also told him, that the fellow

was but the miller's man; what then, said he, could he ever have done his master better service than to hang for him? and so without more ado he was dispatched,

In 1555, the 3d of Queen Mary, there was a Parliament called, and this Sir Anthony Kingston was, saith Dr. Burnet, a great stickler in it; and it must be for the Protestant religion against the court, seeing that he hanged up so many in King Edward's time for their rising in rebellion for their old religion; and being a bold daring man, he one day, during the time of the sitting of the Parliament, took away the key of the house from the Sergeant, which, it seems, was not displeasing to the major part of the house, since they did nothing upon it, saith Dr. Burnet; but the day before the Parliament was dissolved he was sent to the Tower, on the 9th of December, and lay there 'till the 23 of that month, and then he submitted and asked pardon, and was discharged. But he was the next year accused to have engaged in a design with some others to have robbed the exchequer of 50000 l. whereupon six of the confederates were executed for felony, and Sir Anthony Kingston died in his way to London from Devonshire as they were bringing him up; and if he had not, he would, in all probability, have been served in the same manners that he served the Mayor of Bodmyn, the millers and many others.

Sir William Courtenay, third of that name, died, as the inquisition taken after his death saith, the 24th of November, 27 Henry VIII. It says likewise, that William Courtenay, son and heir of George Courtenay, son and heir of the aforesaid Sir William Courtenay, is his kinsman and next heir, and is of the age of six years and something more.

The Arms of this Sir William Courtenay were the same with those of his father, impaled with the Arms of Edgecomb, viz. Gules, on a Bend Sable cotiz'd Or, three Boars Heads coup'd Or.

CHAPTER IX.

George Courtenay was son of Sir William Courtenay, third of that name; he married Catherine daughter of Sir George Saint-Leger of Annery, who was Knighted at Tournay in the reign of King Henry VIII. and was high sheriff of Devonshire 22 Henry VIII. He was son of Sir Thomas Saint-Leger, who married Anne sister of King Edward IV. and widow of Henry Holland, Duke of Exeter. This Sir Thomas Saint-Leger was put to death for conspiring against Richard III. at the same time when Peter Courtenay, Bishop of Exeter, Sir Edward Courtenay, and a great many other western gentleman, had agreed to join the Duke of Buckingham then in arms.

This gentleman, George Courtenay, died young, before his father, and therefore I can find but little concerning him; only Sir Peter Ball says that he was knighted.

His Arms were impaled with those of Saint-Leger, viz. Azure; Fretty Argent, a Chief Dr.

CHAPTER X.

Sir William Courtenay, fourth of that name, of Powderham-Castle, son of Sir George Courtenay and Catherine Saint-Leger his wife. He married Elizabeth daughter of John Pawlet, Marquess of Winchester. This John was son of William Pawlet, first of that name, Marquess of Winchester, Knight of the Barter and Lord High Treasurer of England, who died in the year 1571, being 97 years old; he served Henry VII. Henry VIII. Edward VI. Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth, and lived to see his issue grown to the number of 103, whereof Sir William Courtenay's Lady and son were part.

In King Edward's journal of his own reign, which is put amongst other records and instruments at the end of the second volume of Bishop Burnet's History of the Reformation, it is sad, that the 17th of November 1550, the Earl of Warwick, Sir Henry Sidney, Sir Henry Nevil, and Sir Henry Yates, challenged all comers at tilt the 3d of January, and at tourney the 6th of January; and this challenge was proclaimed: and then the King, in his journal, a little after, says, the challenge that was made in the last month was fulfilled January 31 and then he names the challengers the same as he did before; the defendants, he saith, were the Lord Williams, the Lord Fitzwalter, the Lord Ambrose, the Lord Roberts, the Lord Fitzwarren, Sir George Howard, Sir William Stafford, Sir John Parret, Mr.Norrice, Mr.Digby, Mr.Warcup, Mr.Courtenay, Mr.Knolls, the Lord Bray, Mr.Paston, Mr.Cary, Mr.Anthony Brown, Mr.Drury; these in all ran six courses a-piece at tilt against the challengers, and accomplished their courses right well, and so departed again. On the 6th of January the aforesaid challengers came into the tourney, and the defendants entered in after, and with them two more, Mr.Tirrel and Mr.Robert Hopton, and fought right well, and so departed again, On the 6th of January the aforesaid challengers came into the tourney, and the defendants entered in after, and with them two more, Mr.Tirrel and Mr.Robert Hopton, and fought right wells and so the challenge was accomplished. The same night there was first a play, after a talk between one that was called Riches and the other Youth, whether of them was better? After some pretty reasoning there came in six champions of either sided; On Youth's side came my Lord

Fitzwalter, my Lord Ambrose, Sir Anthony Brown, Sir William Coham, Mr.Cary, Mr.Warcup: On Riches side, my Lord Fitzwarren, Sir Robert Stafford, Mr.Courtenay, Digby, Hopton, Hungerford; all these fought two to two at barriers in the hall: then came in two apparrelled like Almaines, the Earl of Ormond and Jacques Grando, and two came in like fryars, but the Almaines would not suffer them to pass fryars, but the Almaines would not suffer them to pass 'till they had fought; the fryars were Mr.Drury and Thomas Cobham: after this followed two masks; one of men, another of women; then a banquet of 120 dishes. This day was the end of Christmas; so saith King Edward VI. in his diary. This Mr.Courtenay that is mentioned in the King's Journal must be this Sir William Courtenay that was knighted afterward.

This Sir William Courtenay and Sir Peter Carew served King Philip and Queen Mary in their French wards, saith Sir William Pole; and Hollingshed saith, that in the year 1557, Queen Mary proclaimed war against France, and upon the 6th of July King Philip passed over to Calais, and so to Flanders, where on that side he made provision for the wars; and the Queen shortly after caused an army of one thousand horse and four thousand foot, with two thousand pioneers, to be transported over unto his assistance, under the leading of divers of the nobility and other valiant Captains, amongst

amongst whom was Sir William Courtenay. King Philip besieged St. Quintin in Picardy, and on the 10th of August the French endeavouring to throw succours into the town were miserably defeated there were two thousand five hundred of them slain, and amongst them many of great rank, and as many taken prisoners. On the eighth day after this victory the town was taken by storm, and all the men that were in it put to the sword or made prisoners.

Sir William Courtenay died at the Siege of St. Quintin; but whether a violent or natural death is uncertain most likely he was killed, either at the time when the French endeavoured to throw succours into the town, or else then it was stormed and taken; the town was taken on the 18th of August, 1557, and about the time he died, in the prime of his years; and if he had lived longer, in all probability, he would, by serving his country, have merited to have the Earldom of Devonshire restored to his family, the last Earl of the older branch dying but a little before; even as the first branch ceasing Sir Edward Courtenay of the second branch had the Earldom restored to him by King Henry VIII. for serving him in his wars,

Sir William Courtenay had by his Lady Elizabeth Pawlet a son named William, who succeeded him in his estates. His Lady out-lived him, and was married again to Sir Henry Oughtred, Knight; and she departed this life at Chelsea, November 4, 1576, 18 Elizabeth, and was buried at Basing, the burying-place of her ancestor.

Sir William Courtenay's Arms were the same with his father's, impaled with those of his Lady, viz. Sable, three Swords in Pile Argent, Pomels Or.

CHAPTER XI.

Sir William Courtenay, fifth of that name, of Powderham-Castle, was son of Sir William Courtenay and Elizabeth Pawlet his wife. He was born in 1553, 1 Queen Mary, and was about four years old when his father died, He married Elizabeth daughter of Henry Manners, Earl of Rutland, and Margaret Nevil his wife, daughter of Ralph Earl of Westmoreland. This Earl of Rutland by his will, bearing date July 5, 1560, gave his daughter Elizabeth one thousand pounds to her portion, and thirty pounds per ann. for her maintenance 'till her marriage or age of twenty one years; and by a schedule annexed to his will, he increased the portion of his daughter Elizabeth five hundred marks, in case she should marry with the consent of his wife and brother George Earl of Shrewsbury, and of his brother John Manners, or any two of them; and she married, as was said Sir William Courtenay of Powderham-Castle: this Henry Manners, Earl of Rutland, was son of Thomas first Earl of that family; he was Lord Roos of Hamlake, Trusbat, and Belvoir, descended by the Lady Anne his mother from Richard Duke of York and Earl of Rutland, and was created Earl of Rutland by King Henry VIII. which Lady Anne his mother was daughter to Sir Thomas Saint-Leger, or de Sancto Lodegario, and Anne his wife, sister to King Edward IV. and widow of Henry Holland, Duke of Exeter,

This Henry Manners, father to Elizabeth wife of Sir William Courtenay, had two sons, Edward and John, who were successively Earls of Rutland after him: John left the Earldom to his son Roger; Roger dying without issue was succeeded by his brother Francis, whose daughter was the wife of George Villars, Duke of Buckingham, the great favourite of King James I. and Charles I.

This Sir William Courtenay, fifth of that name, was Knighted in the year 1576, and was High Sheriff of Devonshire in 23 Elizabeth, 1581.

In the year 1585, 28th of Eliz. Queen Elizabeth took order for the peopling the country belonging to the Earl of Desmond, to which end divers honourable gentlemen took care to be undertakers of seigniouries and to send over plantations there, whereof some went into the country themselves, others sent their people; amongst which were, Sir Christopher Hatton, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir William Courtenay, Sir Richard Molineaux, and many others; and whether Sir William Courtenay went over in person I know not, but certain it is that his eldest son Sir William was there, for he was for his good services knighted there by the Earl of Essex, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; and many other Devonshire gentlemen went over to Ireland about that time, and signalized themselves in the Irish wars, and many of them came to great preferment and got great estates there; and the foundation of that great estate that the present Sir William Courtenay has now in Ireland, was laid by this Sir William at that time; and it is much the greater, for that two of the undertakers, Utred, or rather Oughtred, who was Sir William's half-brother, as it is very probable and Strode, made an agreement with Sir William Courtenay, that he of the three that did live longest should have all, and Sir William out-lived them both.

In the year 1624, the 22d of King James, the Parliament petitioned the King to put the laws in execution against Popish recusants; and they complained that the Papists did increase upon the account that a great many of the chief of them were encouraged and put into places of power and trust; and the Parliament mentioned the names of them, as Francis Earl of Rutland, the Duke of Buckingham's wife's brother, Sir Thomas Compton that married the Duke's mother, the Lord Herbert, afterwards Earl of Worcester, and many other lords; and then they came to name the commons, they began with Sir William Courtenay, and named a great many other Knights and Baronets, who they said were dispersed up and down and seated in every county, and were not only in offices and commissions, but had countenance from court; which complaint of the Parliament, together with the breaking off of the Spanish match, the historian says, made the Roman Catholicks to be uneasy, and to live a little more upon the reserve; yet when the match with France began to be in agitation, which was presently after, they got heart and did spread again.

It was the custom in those days for young gentlemen and ladies to be educated in great mens houses; before this time we read, that Cardinal Wolsey had a great many noblemens and gentlemens sons in his family, to be trained up under him; and there is a tradition, that this Sir William Courtenay having in his family some Devonshire young gentlemen, it happened that some of them were accused of robbing some persons upon the road as they going to market, for which they were tryed at the assizes; and Sir William Courtenay was on the bench with the judge to speak on their behalf; and no question if they did do it, they did it out of a frolick, and were able and willing to make satisfaction.

In the tryal the judge spake something which much offended Sir William Courtenay; upon which he being in a great passion stood up, and put his hand upon his sword and said, That he would make the Judge's shirt as red as his scarlet gown: when Sir William was a little cool, and had considered what he had done, to took horse and rode post to London, and fell on his knees before Queen Elizabeth. Courtenay, says she, what have been guilty of now? He related to the Queen the whole matter, upon which the Queen was greatly displeased for affronting the judge in such a high manner, who represented her person and acted by her commission, and would not for some time forgive him; but at last having had a more than ordinary kindness for one of the family formerly, she was reconciled to him and pardoned him.

This Sir William Courtenay died at London upon the Feast of Sir John Baptist in the year 1630, being 77 years old, as the inscription which was upon his coffin does shew, which inscription being made upon a piece of brass in the form of a cross was fixed upon his coffin, in which his body was brought down from London, and buried in the Church of Powderham, and the piece of brass was lately, upon the digging of a grave, found and taken up, and by the order of the present Sir William Courtenay thrown in again. The inscription is,

Hic jacet sepultus Gulielmus Courtenay de Powderham, Miles,
Catholicus Romanus et Confessor, qui obiit Londini in Festo Sancti
Johannis Baptistae, Anno Salutis 1630. Aetatis suae 77.
Pro cujus Anima intercedant Beati Virgo et omnes Sancti.

Why this gentleman should be called Confessor for his religion is uncertain; perhaps he might lose some place for being a Roman Catholick, because, as we have seen the Parliament in his time complained, that a great many Roman Catholicks were in places of power and trust, and they name him among the rest; or else it might be because he was not restored to the titles and honours of his ancestors, which in his time were given away to other families by King James I. in the beginning of his reign; and he might think the cause of it might be because he was a Roman Catholick: but if they had not been disposed of before the Duke of Buckingham came to be the King's favourite, he might have then had a fair opportunity of being restored to them, because the Duke married a near kinswoman of his wife: but I rather think that the true reason of his being called Confessor, was because he did receive into his house, and harbour the Jesuites and other Popish Priests, which came secretly into England, and spent a great deal of money in maintaining of them: for there is a tradition, that in a dark secret room which is in Powderham-Castle, many Popish Priests lay concealed; and this Sir Willam Courtenay did not only spend the incomes of his great estate, but impaired the estate of his ancestors; for he it was that sold away the Manour of Cadley to Sir John Horton, who sold it again to Sir Simon Leach: he sold like-wise the Manour of Culm-sachville in Silverton Parish, part to Henry Skibbow, part to..... Land of Woodbear, and part to Edward Drew, Serjeant at Law; he sold likewise Butterleigh to Sir Simon Leach, which Sir William Courtenay, surnamed the Great, gave unto James Courtenay, a younger son, and which, after four descents, reverted to this Sir William Courtenay: he sold likewise the Manour and Hundred of Broad-Windsor to Sir William Pole; and other lands he sold, but made some amends for it, by being the founder of that estate in Ireland; but the estates

estates that Hugh, second Earl of Devonshire, settled upon this family were so firmly entailed, that, as Sir Peter Ball observes, they could never through all this length of time be shaken, but they remain intire to the family to this day.

This Sir William Courtenay had by his wife Elizabeth Manners, daughter of Henry Earl of Rutland, I. William, who, as was said before, was in the year 1599 Knighted by Robert Earl of Essex for his great service in the Irish Wars, and there were several other Devonshire gentlemen knighted at the same time. He died in the year 1605, the 2d of King James. 2. Francis, who succeeded his father in his estate, 3. Thomas, 4. George. 5. John. 6. Alexander. 7. Edward. He had likewise three daughters, I. Margaret, married to Sir Warwick Hele of Membury, who was High Sheriff of Devonshire in the 17th year of King James I. and died in the year 1625, 2. Mary, married to Sir William Wray of Trehigh in Cornwall, Baronet. 3. Gertrude, married to Sir John Fitz of Fitzford, who had by her one only daughter, who was first married unto Sir Allan Piercy, Knight, sixth son to Henry Earl of Northumberland; secondly to Thomas son and heir of Thomas Lord Darcy, Earl of Rivers; thirdly, to Sir Charles Howard, fourth son to the Earl of Suffolk; and fourthly, to Sir Richard Greenvil, Knight and Baronets second son of Sir Bernard Greenvil of Stow, Knight.

There is a large account given of this Sir Richard Greenvil in my Lord Clarendon's History; and in speaking of him my Lord takes occasion to speak of this Lady his wife; he saith, that Sir Richard, when young, learned the profession of a soldier in the Low Countries under Prince Morris, and was made a Captain in the Lord Vere's Regiments that in the war between England and Spain he was in the expedition to Cales, and was Major of a regiment of foot, and continued in the same command in the war that soon after followed between England and France, and at the Isle of Rhea insinuated himself into the very good grace of the Duke of Buckingham who was resolved to raise Sir Richard's fortune, and by his countenance and sollicitation prevailed with a rich widow to marry him, which is the Lady we are speaking of: she was, as my Lord Clarendon saith, a Lady of extraordinary beauty, which she had not yet out-lived, and she inherited a fair fortune of her own, and was besides very rich in a personal estate. Sir Richard lived extravagantly upon her estate, and in a little time began to slight and neglect his wife, who being a woman a woman of a haughty and imperious nature, and of a wit superior to his, resented the disrespect she received from him, and withdrew herself from him, and was with all kindness received into the Earl of Suffolk's family. The Lady before marriage with him settle her entire fortune so absolutely upon the Earl of Suffolk, that the present right was in him, and he required the rents to be paid to him; this begat a suit in the chancery, and the Lord Chancellor Coventry decreed the land to the Earl; this enraged Sir Richard to that degree, that he revenged himself upon him in such opprobrious language, as the government and justice of that time would not permit; and the Earl repaired for reparation to the court of Star-chamber, where Sir Richard was decreed to pay three thousand pounds for damages to him, and was likewise fined the sum of three thousand pounds to the King, who gave the fine likewise to the Earl; so that Sir Richard was committed to the Fleet-Prison in execution for the whole six thousand pounds, After he had endured many years strict imprisonment, he made his escape out of the prison, and transporting himself beyond the seas, remained there 'till the Parliament was called that produced so many miseries to the Kingdom; and when he heard that

that many decrees which had been made at that time by the Court of Star-Chamber were repealed, he returned and petitioned to have his cause her, for which a committee was appointed; but before it could be brought to any conclusion the rebellion broke out in Ireland; and amongst the first troops that were raised for the suppression thereof, Sir Richard Greenvil was sent over with a very good troop of horse. After the cessation was made in Ireland, he came over and was welcome to the Parliament, and was invited by Sir William Waller to command the horse under him, and he received from the Parliament a large sum of money for the making his equipage and he appointed a day for the rendezvous of the horse at Bagshot, and the same day marched out of London only with his equipage, which was very noble, a coach and six horses, a waggon and six horses, many led horses and many servants with those when he came to Staines he left the Bagshot Road, and marched directly to Reading, where the King's garrison then was, and thence without delay to Oxford, where he was very graciously received by the King: From Oxford he went quickly into the East, and he had letters from the King to Colonel Digby, who commanded before Plymouth, to put Sir Richard Grenvil into the possession of his wife's estate that lay within his quarters, and which was justly liable to a sequestration by her living in London, and being too zealously of that party, which the Colonel punctually did, and so he came, after so many years, to be again possessed of all tht estate, which was what he most set his heart upon. His Lady out-lived him, and lived to enjoy her estate many years after the restauration and because Sir Richard had used her in the manner that we have related, she would not be called by his name, but was always called Lady Howard, from the name of her former husbandi and although sh had two daughters by Sir Richard, when she died she gave all her estate, real and personal, to Sir William Courtenay, her cousin-german, and this Sir William's grand-son, who generously provided well for the daughters.

This Sir William Courtenay, fifth of that name, of Powderham-Castle, had one of his sons slain in the Isle of Rhee, The Duke of Buckingham, Lord High Admiral of England, sailed from Portsmouth, June 27, 1627, the 3d of Charles I. having six thousand horse and foot, in ten ships of war and ninety merchant-meni twelve of his ships were sent to guard the entry to Port Breton, the rest sailed unto a fort of the Isle of Rhee, called de la Price, making their approaches with their cannon so nearl that Monsieur Taires, Governour of the Citadel of St.Martin, perceiving their intention, sent out his forces to the number of one thousand horse and foot is seven parties, to hinder them from coming on shorei these were encountred by twelve hundred English, who had landed by the advantage of their great ordnance; the fight was sharp and quick, and a great many brave men lost their lives on both sides, and the victory was uncertainibut after the English army had beein in the island for a little time, they made an unfortunate and precipitate retreat. The retreat was a rout, as my Lord Clarendon saith, without an enemy, and the French had their revenge by the disorder and confusion of the English themselves, in which great numbers of noble and ignoble were crouded to death, or drowned, without the help of an enemy; and the loss was so great, that most noble families found a son, or brother, or a new kinsman wanting, which produced such a general consternation over the face of the whole nation, as if all the armies of France and Spain were united together, and had covered the land. And it cannot be denied, saith my Lord Clarendon, that from these two wars, viz. that with Spain a little before,

before, and this with France so wretchedly entered into and managed, the Duke of Buckingham's ruin took its date.

Thomas, the third son of Sir William Courtenay, had a son named William, who was Knighted, and was an officer in the army of King Charles in the civil wars, of whom my Lord Clarendon does make mentiont he says, that General Boring in his return from the King found Taunton relieved by a strong party of two thousand horse and three thousand foot, which unhappily arrived in the very article of reducing the town, and after their line was entered and a third part of the town was burned; but this supply raised the siege, the besiegers drawing off without any loss, and the party that relieved them having done their works and left some of their foot in the town, made what haste they could to make their retreat eastward, when Boring fell so opportunely upon their quarters that he did them great mischief, and believed that in that disorder he had so shut them up in narrow passes, that they could neither retire to Taunton, nor march eastward; and doubtless he had them at a great advantage, and by the opinion of all that knew the country; but by the extreme ill-disposing of his parties, and for want of particular orders, (of which many spoke with great licence) his two parties sent out several ways to fall upon the enemy at Petherton-Bridge, the one commanded by Colonel Thornbill, the other by Sir William Courtenay, both sober and diligent officers they fell foul on each other to the loss of many of their men, both the chief officers being dangerously hurt, and one of them taken before they knew their error, with which the enemy with no more loss got into and about Taunton.

Sir William Courtenay, fifth of that name, was at his death possessed (as the inquisition taken a little after doth shew) of the Manours of Powderham, Alphington, Ilton, Scatchland, Hanitan, Moreton, Cheyerstong Tingmouth-Courtenay, Milton-Damarel, Whiteston, Thurlestone, Salmeton, North-pool, Sower, Boltbury-Beauchamp, Boltbury-Allyn, Salcombe, Batiscombe, and South-Huish.

This Sir William Courtenay's Arms were the same with his father's, impaled with those of Lady Elizabeth Manners, his wife, vix. Or, two Bars Azure on a Chief Quarterly, 2 Fleur de Lys of France and a Lyon of England,

CHAPTER XII.

Francis Courtenay, first of that name, of Powderham-Castle, was son of Sir William Courtenay and Elizabeth Lady Manners his wife: he had to his first wife Mary the daughter of Sir William Pole of Colecombe, Knight, widow of Nicholas Hurst of Oxton, Esq. Sir Ralph Horcy sold Oxton to William Hurst, who left it to his son Nicholas, and he dying without issue left it by conveyance unto William Martin, Recorder of Exeter; and Francis Courtenay, Esq; having married Nicholas Hurst's widow, lived there as long as his first wife lived, and after her death it came to Sir Nicholas Martin, Knight, son of the said William Martin. This Francis Courtenay, Esq; had no issue by his first wife; his

his second was Elizabeth daughter of Sir Edward Seymour of Berry-Pomeroy, Knight and Baronet.

Mr. Westcot in his View of Devonshire, which he wrote in this gentleman's time, says, when he comes to speak of Powderham-Castle, It is indeed a Castle, but fortified chiefly by a noble heart, that keeps bountiful hospitality, like his honourable ancestors, and gives kind and courteous entertainment to all comers.

This Francis Courtenay, Esq; had, as was said before, an elder brother that lived to man's estate, and was Knighted; and therefore he being a younger brother, it is probable that he lived privately in the country; and this may be the reason why he was not Knighted, as his ancestors were. He was born in the year 1576, and was blind some time before his death, and died in Jun 1638. He made his will in January before. He left his second wife a widow, and she married again to Sir Amias Meredith, He had by her four sons, 1. Williams who succeeded him in his estate; he was baptized September 7, 1628. 2. Edward, who was baptized July 17, 1631. 3. Francis, who was baptized July 14, 1633. 4. James, who was baptized January 18, 1634,

Francis, the third son, was Captain of a Man of War in the war with the Dutch, in the year 1672, and was wounded in the fight at Sole-Bay, May 28, and died of his wounds at North-Yarmouth on the sixteenth day after he was wounded: He married January 8, 1657, Rebecca the daughter of William Webb, Esq; and had by her three daughters, 1. Elizabeth, who died unmarried. 2. Anne, who married William Burgoin, merchant. 3. Frances, who married Benjamin Ivy, merchant.

Francis Courtenay, first of that name, of Powderham-Castles had with the Arms of Courtenay impaled, 1. The Arms of Pole, Azure, Semi-fleur de Lys Or, a Lyon Rampant Azure: 2. The Arms of Seymour, viz. Bules, two Wings inverted and conjoined Or.

CHAPTER XIII.

Sir William Courtenay, sixth of that name, of Powderham-Castle, was son of Francis Courtenay, Esq; and Elizabeth Seymour his wife: He was baptized the 7th of September, 1628f and married Margaret daughter of Sir William Waller, by the daughter and heiress of Sir Richard Reynel, Kt. who was the third son of Richard Reynel of Woodgwell, Esq.

This Sir Richard Reynel built Ford-House in the Parish of Wolleborough near Newton-Bushell and Sir William Courteney marrying his granddaughter, had the house and Manour of Ford, with other lands, with her in marriage. The Lady of Sir Richard Reynel, in the year 1640, built an hospital near Ford, for the widows of four poor clergymen and handsomely endowed it with lands for their maintenanceland she reserved to herself the naming of them in her life-time, and after she put it in the power of her heir who is Sir William Courtenay, and certain feof-fees. A large and particular account of this gift, with the qualifications of the persons to be put into the hospital, is hung up in a table in Wolleborough Church.

Sir William Waller, Sir William Courtenay's father-in-law, was he that was General of the Army for the Parliament in the civil wars: his seat was at Broombridge in Sussex, on the confine of Kent, which house was built by Charles Duke of Orleans, father to King Lewis XII. of France, when he being taken prisoner in the Battle of Agencourt by Richard Waller of this place, Sir William's ancestor, was her a long time detained prisoner and King Henry V. for this famous exploit of taking the Duke of Orleans prisoner, gave to Richard Waller and his heirs an additional crest to his arms, viz. the Arms of France hanging by a Label on an Oak, with this motto, *Hic fructus Virtutis*.

This Sir William Courtenay was very young when he was married; he and his Lady could not make thirty when their first child was borne and he was young when the Civil War broke out, and therefore was not in the army; but he favoured the King's party, and maintained in his house Dr. William Peterson, Dean of Exeter, who was turned out of his deanery for his loyalty to the King; and in the year 1657, in the time of the usurpation, when the law was that marriages should be performed by Justices of the Peace, Francis Courtenay, Esq. brother of Sir William Courtenay, was, in the presence of Sir William Courtenay and several others, married by the Dean in Wooleborough Church. And a little before the restoration of King Charles II. this Sir William Courtenay, with another very honourable gentlemen of Devonshire, Sir Coplestone Banfield, raised each a very gallant troop of horse, about one hundred and twenty gentlemen in each troop, all of them persons of good quality and estates, in the head of which they rode themselves, securing some disaffected persons, disarming others, whereby in a little time they brought the County of Devon into a due subjection.

Sir William Courtenay, a little after the restauration, had a grant procured for him to be a Baronet, but he not affecting that title, because he thought greater of right did belong to him, never took out his patent, and therefore he is not put in the Catalogue of Baronets; but he was always stiled Baronet in all commissions that were sent him by the King, and so is the present Sir William Courtenay, his grand-son.

In the year 1664, Sir William Courtenay was High Sheriff of Devonshire, and he was Knight of the Shire for Devonshire in several Parliaments in King Charles the 2^d's time; but he was in the middle of his age seized with the dead palsy on one side, and in that condition he continued many years until the time of his death, which hindered him from doing that good service to his country which otherwise he might; and he wanted nothing but his health to have rendered him as illustrious as most of his noble ancestors.

He had by his Lady, Margaret Waller, sons, 1. William, who died young of the small pox in London. 2. Francis, who was baptized February 27, 1650. 3. Edward, who was baptized January 19, 1652, and he was drowned as he was bathing himself in the River Thames. 4. Richard. 5. James. 6. George, who was baptized June 13, 1666. 7. Henry, who was baptized March 26, 1668. 8. William, Daughters, 1. Lucy, married to Hugh Stafford, Esq; of Pines. 2. Elizabeth, married to John Clobery of Braxton, Esq. 3. Isabella, married to Sir Thomas Lear of Lindridge, Baronet. 4. Anne, who died unmarried. 5. Jane 6. Margaret, who was married to Edmund Reynel of Malston, Esq. 7. Mary. 8. Dorothy; and others that died unbaptized, in all 19 children by Margaret his Lady.

Richard, the third son, had to his wife Jane daughter of Sir Thomas Southwell, and had by her a sons she was buried May 31, 1681. His second wife was Catherine daughter of Sir William Waller the Younger, and he had by her a daughter that was married to John Gilbert; Esq. This Mr. Richard Courteney was Parliament-man for Honiton in the Convention Parliament that settled the Crown upon King William; and he was Captain of Marines in the Regiment of the Lord Berkeley; and as he was sailing to Italy, together with his son, to see the country, the ship was cast away near Leghorn, and he might have save his life by swimming, but endeavouring to save his son, he and his son were both lost.

James, the fourth son, married Elizabeth daughter of..... Bourdon of Cheverston, in the Parish of Kenton, by whom he had issue, 1. William, 2. James. 3. Francis. 4. George. And daughters, 1. Elizabeth. 2. Anne. 3. Isabell; besides others that died young,

The sixth son of Sir William Courtenay, George, was some time Parliament-Man for East-Lowe in Cornwall.

William, the youngest son of Sir William Courtenay, was a Captain of Marines in the Regiment of Colonel Villiers; and as the Colonel and he were riding through the River Piava, in the Country of Friuli, between Italy and Germany, for to see the country, they were both drowned. And Mr. Prior wrote an ODE inscribed to the memory of the Honourable Colonel George Villiers, drowned in the River Piaval in the Country of Friuli, in imitation of Horace, Ode xxviii. Lib, 1.

Te maris et terrae, numeroq; carentis arenae
Menforem cohibent Archytal &c.

and I shall take some verses out of that Ode, which may be applied to the Captain as well as to the Colonel, and shall put them here, and they may serve instead of an Epitaph for the Captain, who was a good Officer and a fine Gentleman;

"Whoe'er thou art, whom choice or business leads
To this sad river, or the neighbouring meads,
If thou may'st happen on the dreary shoar
To find the man whom all his friends deplore,
Cleanse the pale corps with a religious hand
From the polluting weed and common sand;
Lay the dead hero graceful in his grave,
The only honour he can now receive,
And fragrant mould upon his body throw,
And plant the warrior laurel o'er his brow,
Light lye the Earth, and flouris green the bough.

Sir William Courtenay, father of this numerous offspring, died August 4, 1702, being seventy four years old; and his Lady was buried the 9th of January, 1693. To this Sir William Courtenay, as was said before, my Lady Howard, as she was commonly called, widow to Sir Richard Greenville, gave at her death all her estate; and part of that estate is Okehempton Park, and the place where the Castle stood, which were bought by

Sir John Fitzford's ancestor of the crown, upon the attainder of the Marquess of Exeter; so that the park and castle, from which the first of the family of Courtenay that came into England had their title of Baron of Okehampton, after it had been taken away by the attainder in King Henry VIIIth's time, is reverted to the family again. Indeed the Manour of Okehampton was, among other lands belonging to the Barony of Okehampton and Earldom of Devonshire, divided amongst the four great aunts of the last Earl of Devonshire, as the settlement was made by Sir Edward Courtenay restored to the Earldom of Devonshire; and William Mohun marrying one of them, he had the Manour of Okehampton for his sharer and Reginald Mohun, in the 4th of Charles the 1st, was created Lord Mohun of Okehampton; but since, that family is extinct, the Manour sold to a stranger, and the Title is become vacant.

This Sir William had his Arms impaled with those of Waller, viz. Sable, three Walnut-Leaves Or, in Bend between two Bendlets Argent.

CHAPTER XIV.

Francis Courtenay, second of that name, of Powderham-Castle, was son of Sir William Courtenay, Baronet, and Margeret Waller his wife: he was born in the year 1650, and married Mary daughter of John Bovey, Esq; and had by her sons, 1. William, who was born March 4, 1675. 2. Francis, Baptized December 11, 1679, and was buried June 9 1682. 3. Francis, Baptized January 5 1687, and died an infant. Daughters, 1. Anne, married to William Walrond of Bradfield, Esquire, 2. Elizabeth, married to Arthur Champernoun of Dartington, Esquire. 3. Margeret, 4. Mary. B. Lucy. 6. Margaret. 7. Jane. B. Isebella 9. Dorothy. This Mr. Francis Courtenay was chosen Knight of the Shire of Devonshire for the Convention Parliament, and for all the Parliaments after to the time of this death, his father then living, and being incapacitated by sickness and he served his country in that station with Honour and Faithfulness, and died before his father in London, as he was attending upon the Parliament in the year 1699, in the forty ninth year of his age, and was buried at Chelsea.

The Arms of Bovey are, Or. a Cheveron Sable charged with three Plates.

CHAPTER XV.

Sir William Courtenay, 7th of that name, of Powderham-Castle, Baronet, was born, as was said before, March 4, 1675. He married July 20, 1704, the Right Honourable Lady Anne Bertie, second daughter of James Earl of Abingdon, by Eleanora his first wife, daughter and co-heiress of Sir Henry Lee of Ditchly in the County of Oxford. He was made by King George I. in the beginning of his reign, Lord Lieutenant for County of Devon, has been Knight of the Shire for nine Parliaments, for every Parliament since his father died, as his father and grand-father were before for several Parliaments; and Sir Philip Courtenay, the fist of the family that was seated at Powderham, was likewise Knight of the Shire of Devon, in the 18th of Richard II, about 340 years since; and Sir William Courtenay, so to Robert Baron of Okehampton, was Knight of the Shire for Devonshire in the first House of Commons that appeareth upon record in Henry III's time, about 400 hundred years since.

This Sir William Courtenay has had by his Lady six sons, 1. William, born at Ford in the Parish of Wollebarough in the County of Devon. 2. James, born in the Parish of St. Margaret's Westminster: They both died young. 3. William, born in St. James's Street, in the Parish of St. Martin, now St. George's Westminster. 4. Henry-Reginald, born at Powderham-Castle in the County of Devon. 5. Peregrine, born at Powderham-Castle; and seven daughters, 1. Mary, who died young, 2. Anna-Sophia. 3. Eleanora. 4. Bridget. 5. Isbella. 6. Mary. 7. Elizabeth, who died young. And this Sir William Courtenay is the thirteenth from Sir Philip Courtenay, first of the family that lived at Powderham Castle, the fourteenth from Hugh Earl of Devonshire and Margaret his wife, daughter of Humphry Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex and Elizabeth his wife, daughter of King Edward I. and the nineteenth from Reginald de Courtenay, who came into England with King Henry II. and the twenty second from Athon, who fortified the Town Courtenay, and was the fist that gave the name of Courtenay to his family.

The Arms of the family are, Or, three Torteaux Gules, which were the arms of the ancient Earls of Bologna; and when Godfery Duke of Bouillon and Earl of Bologne, the General of the Christian Army that took Jerusalem, had a consecrated banner sent him by the Pope, the Family of Courtenay took these arms, as being descended from him; and the Dukes of Bouillon do to this day bear upon their Arms an inescutcheon charged with these arms, as being descended from an heir general of the ancient Earls of Bologne, They are called in a Latin Book *Placentae*, and Torteaux, from the Latin word *Torta*, or *Tortula*, which signifies a little cake or piece of bread made round. Some make them of a globular figure; and Mr. John Gibbon, a herald, calls them *globuli*, but it is wrong. In Edward the III's time, a Label with three Points Azure was added by the then Earl of Devonshire, saith Sir William Pole, but for what reason it is uncertain. The Family of Courtenay do offer quarter the Lyon of Rivers with the three Torteauxes, which family were Earl of Devonshire before them, and the Earldom descended to them by Robert Courtenay, Baron of Okehampton, marrying the heir of Rivers, as hath been said. The Supporter of the Arms of the Powderham-family are a,

a dolphin and a boar, and the motto of this family is Ubi lapsus? Quid feci? which, in all probability, was first made use of by this family upon the death of Edward Courtenay, that last Earl of Devonshire of the elder house, and seems to be a complaint, by way of expostulation, for that the honours and estates that were enjoyed by the elder house were not conferred on this family, being next in successions and those of this family must have had them; for they would have descended to them as next heirs male, had not intervening attainders, and only entailed, and not absolute restitutions to Sir Edward Courtenay in Henry VIIth's time, and after to the Marquess of Exeter; and especially to the last Earl, interrupted it, as Sir Peter Ball observes. And it is very likely, notwithstanding this, that this family would have been restored to them all, if Sir William Courtenays fourth of that name, had not died in a little time after the death of the last Earl, which Sir William lost his life in serving his country before St. Quintin's, as has been said, and left his son and heir, a child about four years old.

The Arms of Bertie, which are impaled with the Arms of this Sir William Courtenay, are, Argent, three Battering Rams Bar-ways, in pale Azure, Garnish'd Or. The Motto, Virtus Ariete fortior.

THE END OF THE HISTORY.

ERRATA

- Page 2. Line 37 read 'the Son of a Star.'
- Page 4 Line 8 v.3Tortaux in a Field Or.
- Page 11 Line 43 add if.
- Page 21 Line 3 for joins read join.
- Page 25 Line 20 after 'Baldwin,' add Baldwin
- Page 27 Line 7 Chap.3. for the read they
- Page 35 Para 2, Line 15 for Turbessel read Hamtab
- Page 36 Line 14 from the bottom, for being read were
- Page 37 Para 2, Line 6 blot out the word 'other'
- Page 45 Line 9, read 3 Tortaux in a Field Or.
- Page 48 Line 10 from the bottom, for her read their
- Page 53 Line 30 read, who was come into France
- Page 58 Para 2, Line 18, add, to
- Page 64 Line 24, read, the Emperor his Father.
- Page 73 Line 7, for, Philip read Peter
- Page 78 Line 14, for 7th. Book read 6th. Book
- Page 120 Para 2 Line 13, blot out Albrancor
- Page 125 Line 11, for Henry read Robert
- Page 129 Line 2, add of. In the same page Line 3 of the Epitaph, for genuit read genuit.
- Page 130 Line 6 from the bottom read Eve, Day, and Morrow.
- Page 134 Line 8 from the bottom, for at read a.
- Page 139 Line 13 add in every County.
- Page 142 Para 2 Line 10 for Henry read Edward; and in the same para. Line 15 for before
Read after.
- Page 153 Line 2 add were made Knights.
- Page 157 Line 6 from the bottom, read Great Grand-daughter.
- Page 158 Line 6 from the bottom for next the year read the next year
- Page 184 Line 23 read constitui.
- Page 195 Line 21 for Portaiture read Portraiture.
- Page 195 in the Ach-Bishop's Epitaph Line 6 for quinto decies nonoq; read nono decies
Quintoq.
- Page 195 Arch-Bishop's Epitaph Line 12 for quqm read quem.
- Page 205 Line 7 blot out of; Line 22 blot out or.
- Page 220 Line 36 add she.
- Page 228 Line 4 from the end of the Chapter, for was read were.
- Page 223 Line 23 for , being, read was. And Line 25 blot out and.
- Page 234 Line 23 for sent read set.
- Page 237 Line 17 add to.
- Page 240 Para.2, Line 2, for Devon read Cornwall.
- Page 244 Para.4. Line 8 add Henry Courtenay Son of.
- Page 248 in the last line, for Earl read Marquess.
- Page 253 Para 4, Line 3, add to.
- Page 261 in the last verse except 1, read Angliaq
- Page 272 Line 21 for suppositious read supposititious
- Page 273, Blot out Line 3.
- Page 276 Para.4. Line 1. For Inquision read Inquisition
- Page 283 Line 4 from the bottom for in read ni
- Page 284 Line 7 from the bottom, blot out his Brother.
- Page 296 Line 17 read Henry II
- Page 299 Line 12 for Membury read Wembury.